

Coming recession will shake up U.S. politics

BY DOUG JENNESS

The October 1987 international stock market crash was a product of explosive pressures that have been building up in the capitalist economies since the late 1960s and early '70s. These strains have become much more unstable following the severe 1981-82 recession in the United States.

The steep plunge on the stock market was a signal that the creeping social crisis during the "unprecedented boom" of the 1980s — which has devastated layers of working people and geographical regions in the United States, as well as hundreds of millions of toilers in the semicolonial countries — will become the reality for the vast majority of workers and farmers throughout the world.

The precise course and tempo can't be predicted. But partial crises can no longer be largely absorbed by an expanding international capitalist economy. A sharp downturn in the business cycle, a banking and debt disaster, another stock market crash, a second drought year, or an inflationary outburst will more and more threaten to spark a worldwide depression of industrial production and employment.

The specter before us is a world social crisis whose inevitable result will be mass political battles and polarization that will tie together as never before in human history the prospects of working people in city and country across the globe.

Nothing that has happened in the past year has lessened the seriousness of the warning sounded by the stock market crash. To the contrary, it is even clearer.

While the rate of growth of foreign debts burdening semicolonial countries has slowed down, and Brazil and other big debtors have taken steps to avoid default for the time being, these debts have not been reduced and cannot be paid. Nor can the social hardships on working people generated by this burden be eliminated.

The recent political explosions in Algeria and Burma and the historic shake-up in the domination of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), Mexico's de facto single party, confirm how volatile the conditions bred by onerous foreign debts are.

There is no question that a major international economic crisis will make the already grave situation for working people in the colonial world even more devastating.

The economic difficulties in the Soviet Union and the European countries where capitalist property relations have been overturned are becoming more apparent and are clearly worsening. The promotion of capitalist market mechanisms by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and other bureaucratic officials to cope with their difficulties is going to accelerate social antagonisms. And these will become even more explosive as the world capitalist crisis deepens. More social explosions and nationalist uprisings are inevitable.

The rectification process in Cuba, organized under the banner of the methods promoted by Ernesto Che Guevara — politically leading the working class and working-class internationalism — can gain time to resist the pressures of the imperialist crisis until there's a strengthening of the world revolution.

1986 downturn

During the presidential race in the United States, Vice-president George Bush capitalized on what he and others have called the "longest expansion" in the post-World War II economy.

This view of the period since the 1981-82 recession, however, is misleading and creates the impression that U.S. capital has somehow found a way to circumvent the

normal 3-5 year time frame of business cycles. Actually a closer reading of economic indicators, including employment shifts and the growth rate of industrial production and construction, reveal that a modest downturn occurred in early 1986. While it wasn't deep enough by the official definition — two consecutive quarters with a decline in the Gross National Product — to be labeled a nationwide recession, it was sufficient to fuel the current upturn. Most esti-

mates by government statisticians indicated that in mid-1986 official recession conditions existed in 31 states.

According to the normal working out of the business cycle, we can expect a turn downward in the next year or two. Whether this triggers a major economic depression or generalized international economic crisis will depend on other factors. In any event, every sign indicates that this down-

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Canadian socialist takes stand in trade debate



Margaret Manwaring, Revolutionary Workers League candidate for Canadian Parliament, and James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, were speakers at N.Y. meeting.



Militant/Jon Hillson

BY JON HILLSON

NEW YORK — Mounting popular opposition in Canada to the proposed U.S.-Canada "free trade" pact reflects "the growing unease and uncertainty millions of working people feel about the reality in which we live," said Margaret Manwaring, candidate of the Revolutionary Workers League in Canada's November 21 elections.

Manwaring, a Toronto steelworker, was speaking at a November 6 windup rally here for the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign. SWP presidential candidate James Warren was the other featured speaker of the evening. The two socialist candidates had also shared the platform at a well-attended campaign forum the previous night in Newark, New Jersey.

Debate over the future of the proposed U.S.-Canada pact — which would, according to President Ronald Reagan, create the "world's largest free trade area" — has made this the central issue in the Canadian elections. The pact, which has already been passed by Congress, has yet to be ratified by Canada's Parliament.

The agreement is "overwhelmingly supported by Canada's richest ruling families," explained Manwaring. Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has staked his future on the deal, which over time would eliminate tariffs and expand markets for Canadian and U.S. businesses in both countries. The aim of the pact, Manwaring explained, is to create a "North American capitalist trading bloc to compete against other imperialist countries and the rest of the world."

Canada's Liberal and New Democratic parties have made opposition to the pact central to their campaigns, claiming its approval would signal a loss of "Canadian sovereignty," she said.

"Their slogan is 'Canada for Canadians,'" the RWL candidate told the audience. "But there isn't a massive wave of Canadian chauvinism behind opposition to

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Cuba's assistance to Nicaragua hurricane victims sets example

BY JUDY WHITE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Cuba will build 1,000 houses for Bluefields residents as part of its aid to victims of Hurricane Joan.

The Atlantic Coast port of Bluefields was the hardest-hit town in Nicaragua. Six thousand homes were destroyed there.

The announcement of the latest Cuban aid was made by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega at a November 5 press conference here. The Cuban decision, Ortega said, "surely will encourage other governments and countries to offer this type of support, which will make possible the total reconstruction of Bluefields."

Hurricane Joan swept across Nicaragua October 22, leaving 122 dead, tens of thousands homeless, and extensive damage to bridges, roads, power lines, and drinking water systems throughout the country.

Demands mount for U.S. to aid Nicaragua

BY HARRY RING

Pressure is beginning to build on the U.S. government to reverse its refusal to contribute emergency hurricane relief to Nicaragua.

Ten church and humanitarian aid groups have protested the government's stand.

Editorials in the *Boston Globe*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and *New York Newsday* scored the Reagan administration for its refusal to give aid.

The 10 organizations opposing the government position included Oxfam America, the U.S. affiliate of the international aid organization; the American Friends Service Committee; Lutheran World Relief; and the Church World Service.

They declared, "We deplore withholding humanitarian aid for political reasons. Humanitarian aid should be given to civilians in desperate need. We would urge the U.S. government to reconsider its position."

The *Los Angeles Times* charged: "Not content with funding a covert war against Nicaragua, the Reagan Administration wants to use the human suffering caused by Hurricane Joan to further its aims. Rarely has the cruel nature of its bankrupt Nicaragua policy been so clearly illustrated."

Meanwhile, appeals for emergency relief for Nicaragua have been getting a good public response.

In Britain an appeal was made by the Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign, a grouping whose affiliates include branches of the Labour Party and the trade unions. The appeal was highlighted by an ad in the London *Guardian* that declared: "Nicaragua has achieved so much despite the economic blockade and contra war. Don't let the hurricane destroy Nicaragua's hope for the future." As of early November, £100,000 — nearly \$180,000 — had been received.

In addition to relief efforts, groups are now organizing work brigades to help Nicaragua rebuild.

So far 35 volunteers have been sent to Nicaragua by the Mennonite Central Committee. An umbrella for Mennonite, Amish, and other church constituencies, the committee said the volunteers will spend two weeks a month working in the Bluefields region of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, the

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There was also widespread destruction of crops and agricultural processing plants.

Cuban President Fidel Castro discussed the new aid package with a delegation to Cuba headed by Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega. The aid was announced in Managua, when the group returned.

The Cuban government will send a brigade of 300 people to Bluefields to construct three-bedroom concrete houses, Ortega reported. The houses will be built complete with plumbing and electrical systems. Cuba will provide all materials, including food for the workers.

Construction teams will work alongside the 1,000 families who are to receive the dwellings. The first 500 houses will be built in 1989 and the remainder in 1990. Castro is reported to have told the delegation that the brigade will also build a

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Cuba allows more return visits by U.S. Cubans

BY CINDY JAQUITH

The Cuban government has taken an initiative to allow more Cubans living in the United States — including some who left Cuba in the 1980 Mariel boatlift — to visit Cuba.

Angel Pino of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., described the changes in Cuban immigration policy in a November 7 telephone interview.

One category of Cubans who will be eligible for tourist visas, said Pino, are "persons less than 25 years old who were born in the United States of Cuban parents and who came to the United States before 1978." He said the number of visas to be granted is "not massive."

A second category will be "persons who left Cuba after 1978. In this group, the visas will be granted preferentially to people who, at the time of leaving, were under 12 years old." Annually, 260 of these Cubans will be granted tourist visas.

A third category — separate from the 260 above — will be "persons who left Cuba after 1978 and who are today members of progressive organizations [in the United States] that Cuban immigrants belong to, such as the Antonio Maceo Brigade."

The Antonio Maceo Brigade is an organization of young Cubans living outside Cuba who support normalization of Cuban-U.S. relations and oppose U.S. intervention against Cuba or the rest of Latin Amer-

ica. (See story on the brigade's news conference on this page.)

The new immigration measures reflect the reality that growing numbers of Cubans living in the United States favor normalization of U.S.-Cuban relations, particularly the easing of travel between the two countries. Washington's policies of trying to isolate Cuba, deny trade and normal diplomatic relations, and threatening military aggression have prevented regular immigration and travel between the countries.

The desire for such normalization is especially pronounced among Mariel Cubans. They left Cuba in 1980 under the illusion

that a better life awaited them in the United States. Instead, the majority found unemployment or rock-bottom wages, racism, and for thousands, prison. Meanwhile, many of their closest relatives remain in Cuba.

Up to now, the Cuban government has not granted visas for Mariel Cubans to return for a visit, except under very rare circumstances.

Pino said the reason for the changes in policy is "mainly humanitarian." He added that at the time some Cuban youths left from Mariel "they were taken by their parents — they weren't old enough to make the decision themselves." There are also Cubans

who left and "once in the United States, have changed their way of thinking."

The *Miami Herald* has given prominent coverage to the immigration policy changes. The articles give an impression, however, that the Cuban government is about to issue a large number of visas. Pino stressed that the increase in the number of visas "is not so massive as was announced in the *Miami Herald*."

The Cuban official explained that Cuba's immigration policy "is always going to be linked to the political situation between Cuba and the United States." To the degree "the United States ceases its aggressive policies against Cuba, there could be more of an increase in the number of visits."

Maceo Brigade sets plan for 1989 Cuba trip

BY LARRY LUKECART

MIAMI — The Antonio Maceo Brigade has announced plans to send a large construction brigade to Cuba in 1989, made up of young Cubans, including youth who came to the United States in the 1980 Mariel boatlift.

Plans for the brigade were announced here at a November 2 news conference by Andrés Gómez, one of the founders of the Antonio Maceo Brigade and currently editor of the Spanish-language magazine *Areito*, and Emmanuel Salazar, the new

national coordinator of the brigade.

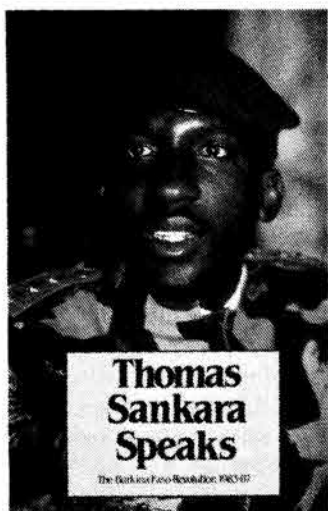
Salazar told the media, "The brigade is an organization of young Cubans who work to establish normal relations between Cuba and the U.S. and against any type of intervention in Cuba or the rest of Latin America."

The brigade has organized trips of young Cubans in the United States to visit Cuba for years. "To travel to Cuba with the brigade, it is not necessary to be a member," Salazar explained. "Those who wish to travel with us need only support normalization of relations and respect the decision of the Cuban people to develop in the way they have chosen."

The proposed three-week construction brigade, Salazar said, will go to Cuba next summer. "We would like to take between 700 and 800 people," he added.

Those who participate will spend at least one week helping to construct housing, as well as attend various meetings and visit several Cuban institutions. The cost of the three-week trip will be \$600, which will cover travel expenses. The Cuban government will provide housing and meals.

Those wishing to participate in the 1989 construction brigade should send a letter to the Antonio Maceo Brigade, P.O. Box 248829, Miami, Fla. 33124. The brigade is open to Cubans 30 years old and younger.



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Calls mount for aid to Nicaragua

Continued from front page

area hardest hit by the storm.

Meanwhile, the Nicaragua Network said it will be recruiting *brigadistas* to help bring in the coffee harvest in December and January. They will be working in the Matagalpa and Jinotega regions and, if possible will help repair and rebuild bridges as well as pick coffee.

Nancy Purcello, a spokesperson, also said that the network will now focus on collecting money to be sent to Nicaragua, rather than relief supplies. Such cash contributions, she said, will enable the Nicaraguan government to make purchases in the region of supplies not included in the relief shipments coming from abroad.

Oxfam America reported that 50,000 pounds of relief aid, collected in New York, Miami, and Washington, D.C., had been airlifted to Nicaragua, earmarked for the Bluefields region.

Singer James Taylor and actor Kris Kristofferson recorded public service appeals to help fund the airlift.

In the past two weeks, Quest for Peace, the humanitarian aid organization, shipped 10 cargo containers of relief supplies and said that other groups had filled four more.

Another humanitarian aid organization,

Operation California, filled a cargo plane with pharmaceutical supplies, medicine, and shelter materials. Donors contributed the \$40,000 cost of chartering the plane.

In Milwaukee a hurricane relief committee was established. Plans were made for a community meeting December 4 to mobilize wider support for relief efforts.

In Boston, November 2, a speaking appearance by Oliver North at Boston College sparked a protest demonstration of nearly 1,000. They chanted, "Relief aid, yes; contra aid, no!"

In the Caribbean there were two appeals for support to Nicaragua.

A pledge of solidarity with Nicaragua was made by David Abdulah, educational director of the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union of Trinidad and Tobago. Don Rojas, executive committee member of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada called on the governments of the region and political, social, and religious organizations to send emergency supplies to Nicaragua, as well as financial aid for the rebuilding of the Bluefields region.

Jonathan Silberman in London, Chris Dennis in Boston, and Melissa Heinz in Milwaukee, contributed to this report.

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SPECIAL OFFER



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Pathfinder mural contributor Carpani discusses work, tour

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — After contributing a portrait of Che Guevara to the Pathfinder mural going up on the Pathfinder Building, Ricardo Carpani returned to Argentina November 2. While in the United States, Carpani spoke and presented slides of his work to audiences in several cities.

In an interview he granted shortly before departing, Carpani touched on his portrait of Guevara, the mural, and the meetings he has addressed. Doris Carpani, his wife and artistic assistant, also participated in the interview. A painter herself, she also contributed to the Pathfinder mural.

"It is hard to express in words what one has expressed in paintings," Carpani said when asked about his motivation in creating this dramatically intense portrait of the Argentine-born leader of the Cuban revolution. "I tried to represent what Che symbolizes from the revolutionary point of view, which for me includes the human aspect in its most profound expression."

The mural project, he said, "is a very interesting one, particularly because of its internationalist character, and because of its clear political connotation. It can be placed within the Latin American muralist tradition."

Carpani had spoken on October 30 to more than 60 people at Pathfinder Books in lower Manhattan. The meeting was co-sponsored by Pathfinder Mural Project, Pathfinder Books, and Ventana, a New York-based group of artists and others that seeks to foster cultural ties with Nicaragua.

Display and auction of prints

At the meeting, Carpani showed slides of his paintings and murals, including several large paintings which he described as "fragments" of potential future murals touching on social questions.

Along the wall, prints were displayed of Carpani's drawings of unemployed Argentinians, done for the collection *Those Who Are Alone and Wait*; and of people dancing the tango.

Some of the prints were auctioned at the meeting to raise funds for the Pathfinder Mural Project. About \$250 was raised in this way, and another \$90 through a collection.

About 50 students heard Carpani the next day at a meeting at Boricua College in Manhattan.

In Chicago, Carpani said, he spoke on Latin American muralism at the School of Art Institute, University of Illinois-Chicago campus, and at the Mexican Fine Arts Center Museum. In Detroit Carpani spoke to a languages class at a high school and at the Detroit Institute of Arts.

Carpani said he had the "feeling that the talks aroused much interest and that the questions were relevant. The subject is not very well known here."

Many of the questions, Carpani said, dealt with the political connotations of Latin American muralism, particularly the political situation in Argentina at the time when Carpani painted works shown in the slides.

Three approaches to art

Carpani began his studies of painting as a student in Paris in the 1950s. Returning to Argentina, his work was exhibited for the first time in 1957.

At that time, Carpani said, he found himself in disagreement with two schools of art in Argentina. "On the one hand," he said, "there was the art of elites, often called 'art for art's sake,' which denied the political and social connotations of art. At that time this was the main current.

"On the other hand, there was also painting that had social intentions. But this tended to focus on the more negative aspects of the Argentine labor movement, not its struggles."

Both currents were shaped by foreign influences, Carpani said. "Art for art's sake" was based on currents in art that were

based in Western Europe, particularly abstract art. The other current was influenced by "socialist realism" developed under the reign of Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union.

In opposition to these two predominant tendencies, Carpani and other artists formed the Spartacus Movement, which stressed the need to forge a Latin American art that was both national and revolutionary.

Over time, Carpani explained, most artists who identified with the movement drifted away from these views. Carpani and two other artists left the group and began devoting a large part of their efforts to creating art for the workers movement.

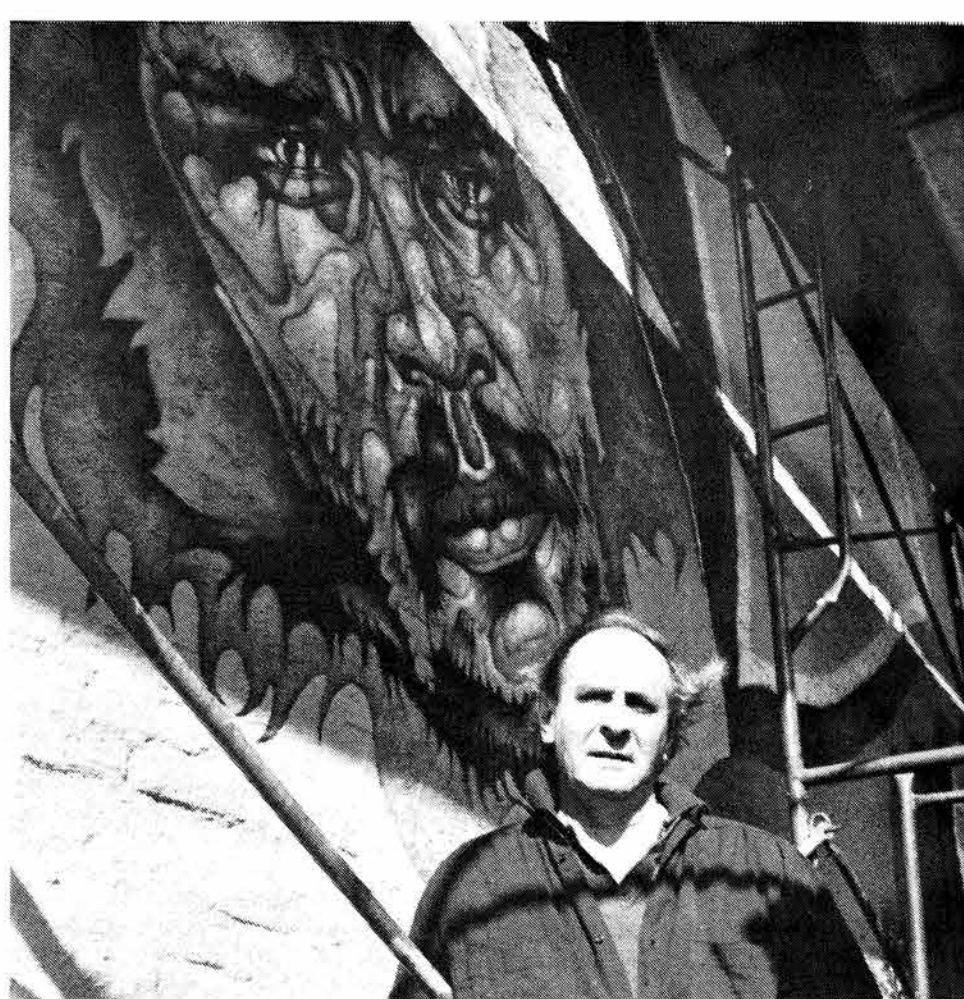
Gauchos in revolt

The artist discussed the historical background to his 1966 drawings for *La Montanera* (Revolutionaries on Horseback), which portrayed the struggles of the gauchos in the grasslands region of Argentina in the 19th century.

The gauchos, he said, were horsemen who moved freely from place to place to find work in agriculture and herding. They revolted against the tightening grip of the landed oligarchy and capitalist traders based in Buenos Aires Province, who were linked to British commercial interests. They instituted "vagrancy" laws to deprive the gauchos of their freedom of movement and require them to work for a single employer.

On their return to Argentina, Doris Carpani said, she will help her husband paint a panel as part of an exhibit of the art of Argentina's Indian population.

Carpani is also preparing a United Nations poster on the situation facing women under apartheid in South Africa.



Militant/Selva Nebbia
Argentine artist Ricardo Carpani and portrait of Che Guevara he painted on Pathfinder mural.

\$155,000 left to collect as Dec. 1 fund deadline nears

BY CINDY JAQUITH

As the scoreboard and chart here show, the Pathfinder Fund has now collected \$94,920 toward its \$250,000 goal. The fund deadline is December 1.

This week, all subscribers to the *Militant* and the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* received a letter from Pathfinder Director Steve Clark and Sales and Promotion Director Mark Severs. They described some of the important projects Pathfinder has under way:

- Publication of a new book of speeches by Malcolm X;
- Publication of French and Swedish editions of *Socialism and Man* by Che Guevara;
- Sales and promotion of upcoming titles to be published by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia: *The Economic Thought of Ernesto Che Guevara*, by Carlos Tablada; *Fidel Castro Speaks About Che Guevara*; and *The Fertile Prison*, the first in a multivolume series by Mario Mencia on the July 26 Movement in Cuba.

"These plans depend on the successful completion of the \$250,000 Pathfinder Fund," Clark and Severs explained. "With your support we are confident the goal can be met."

The rallies being held across the United States to celebrate Pathfinder books offer the best opportunity to meet new contributors to the fund and convince those who have already made a pledge to increase it.

A successful rally to celebrate the Pathfinder book *Thomas Sankara Speaks: The Burkina Faso Revolution 1983-87* took place in Boston October 29. Speaking were Aggrey Mhere, a teacher at Roxbury Community College and a Boston representative of the African National Congress; Bob Livesey, a leader of Veterans for Peace; Franz Minuity, a leader of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of Haiti; and Sam Manuel from Pathfinder.

More than 50 people turned out for the meeting, including a number of African and Haitian supporters. Eleven copies of the book were purchased.

Several participants decided to contribute to the fund for the first time, and some supporters raised their pledge at the meeting. This response convinced Boston bookstore activists to shoot for a goal of raising \$9,000 by December 1.

Boston bookstore director Dave Cahalane said that broadly publicizing the rally beforehand — including discussing Sankara's ideas with political activists — made the difference. "Once we explain Sankara and the Burkina Faso revolution, most people are pretty interested," he commented.

Pathfinder Fund contributions

UNITED STATES	Goal	Received
Atlanta	5,000	1,270
Austin, Minn.	2,800	720
Baltimore	2,800	300
Birmingham	7,000	1,115
Boston	9,000	3,955
Charleston, W. Va.	3,500	330
Chicago	9,600	3,035
Cleveland	5,400	2,357
Des Moines	3,000	815
Detroit	6,100	2,725
Greensboro, N.C.	2,800	1,200
Houston	8,500	4,155
Kansas City	3,700	1,915
Los Angeles	16,000	5,249
Miami	5,500	2,860
Milwaukee	2,300	690
Morgantown, W. Va.	4,500	870
Newark	10,000	5,895
New York	25,000	9,869
Oakland	13,000	5,560
Omaha	3,800	2,017
Philadelphia	7,000	3,180
Phoenix	3,500	645
Pittsburgh	5,000	1,675
Portland, Ore.	4,000	1,105
Price, Utah	1,800	1,015
Salt Lake City	6,000	2,650
San Francisco	11,500	6,231
Seattle	6,500	2,315
St. Louis	8,500	4,896
Twin Cities	12,000	3,750
Washington, D.C.	7,500	2,037
Other U.S.	7,500	2,262
Total U.S.	230,100	88,663
INTERNATIONAL	Pledged	Received
Australia	820	20
Britain	3,966	296
Canada	8,520	3,457
France	200	200
Germany	150	0
Iceland	1,010	102
New Zealand	2,055	435
Sweden	565	565
Other International	1,182	1,182
Total U.S. goals and int'l pledges	248,568	
Total received		94,920

\$250,000

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Oscar Coover, Jr.: communist activist, leader for 50 years

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

LOS ANGELES — Oscar G. Coover, a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, died of cancer here October 28. He was 68 years old.

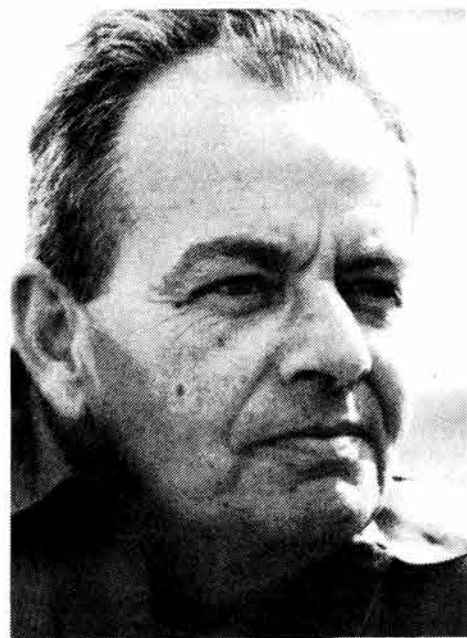
Coover's working-class political activity covered more than 50 years. He joined the SWP during the labor upsurge that shook Minneapolis in the 1930s, participated in the party's work in the maritime industry in the 1940s and early '50s, was organizer and public spokesman for the Los Angeles SWP branch during the rise of the civil rights and antiwar movements, and organized supporters of the SWP in his last years.

Coover was born in Minneapolis on March 10, 1920. The previous year, his father, Oscar Coover, Sr., had joined the newly formed Communist Party.

While working in the Minneapolis rail yards in 1919, Oscar Coover, Sr., was recruited to the party by Carl Skoglund, a Swedish immigrant.

In subsequent years they, along with Vincent Ray Dunne, a former activist in the Industrial Workers of the World, became leaders of both the communist and trade union movement in that city. The three helped spearhead struggles in the 1930s that transformed Minneapolis from an open-shop town to a union stronghold and lead the Teamsters union from an isolated craft organization to a powerful industrial union. In 1941 Coover, Sr.; Skoglund; and Dunne were among 18 sentenced to federal prison for their union and antiwar activity.

"From the time I was seven years old I was around the movement," Coover said recently. "I would go with my father to



Oscar Coover, Jr., in 1971.

Militant

meetings, picnics, social gatherings. I got to know many leaders of the Minneapolis movement in its early years."

In 1928 Coover, Sr., a member of the state committee of the Communist Party, was among those expelled for defending the Leninist course they had been won to when they joined the CP. Like Skoglund, Dunne, and others, he was already a seasoned labor leader and communist when the Stalinist leadership that had abandoned a revolutionary internationalist perspective ejected him.

Union battles

"In 1934 there were a series of three truck drivers' strikes," Coover recalled. "And I was going to school right alongside one of the strike headquarters. After school and on weekends I would spend my time there. I was only 14."

During a strike the following summer, when he was 15, he later wrote, "I joined the Minneapolis City Council of Workers, an unemployed workers' organization allied with the strike, so that I could do picket duty. I was a big kid. When the strike headquarters was raided by the National Guard, I was there. They arrested many of the strike leaders. I was an eager peddler of

the *Strike Organizer* and fund-raiser for the daily published by the Strike Committee of Drivers' Local 574."

About this time Coover joined the Spartacus Youth League, a socialist youth group. "It was dominated by student youth at the University of Minnesota. It was beyond me, so I dropped out after a few months."

In August, 1938 Coover joined the Socialist Workers Party, only months after its founding.

He soon went to work in a Teamster-organized bakery as a laborer and occasional truck driver. He had left high school before graduation, and by this time he had already worked a variety of jobs. Years later, he recalled, while he was running for public office in Los Angeles, a reporter referred to him as a "high school dropout."

"I never thought of myself as a high school dropout," he said. "I just never liked going to school, and though I didn't have much left to go, I saw no point in finishing." In his youth he was an avid reader, a habit he maintained the rest of his life.

As a bakery worker, he recruited several coworkers to the SWP. He also helped rally opposition to the government-led crack-down on the militant Teamsters union.

Merchant marine

With the U.S. government's entry into World War II, the draft-age Coover left for New York City in 1942 to attend a government-run school that trained young men to be merchant seamen. Sailors were in demand to operate commercial vessels as part of the war effort. Coover said he decided to go to sea after talking with Farrell Dobbs, a central leader of the Teamsters' strikes who had become the SWP's national trade union director.

During these years the SWP members working in maritime belonged mainly to two AFL unions, the Seafarers' International Union (SIU) and the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP). Another seagoing union, the CIO National Maritime Union, organized most sailors on the Atlantic Coast.

After graduating from maritime school, the inexperienced young seamen were often assigned to sail on slow-moving tankers, easy targets for German torpedoes. Several SWP merchant seamen had already been killed on Atlantic voyages. With advice from experienced sailors, Coover got a job on the Great Lakes where the SIU organized in the shipping industry.

Maritime unions

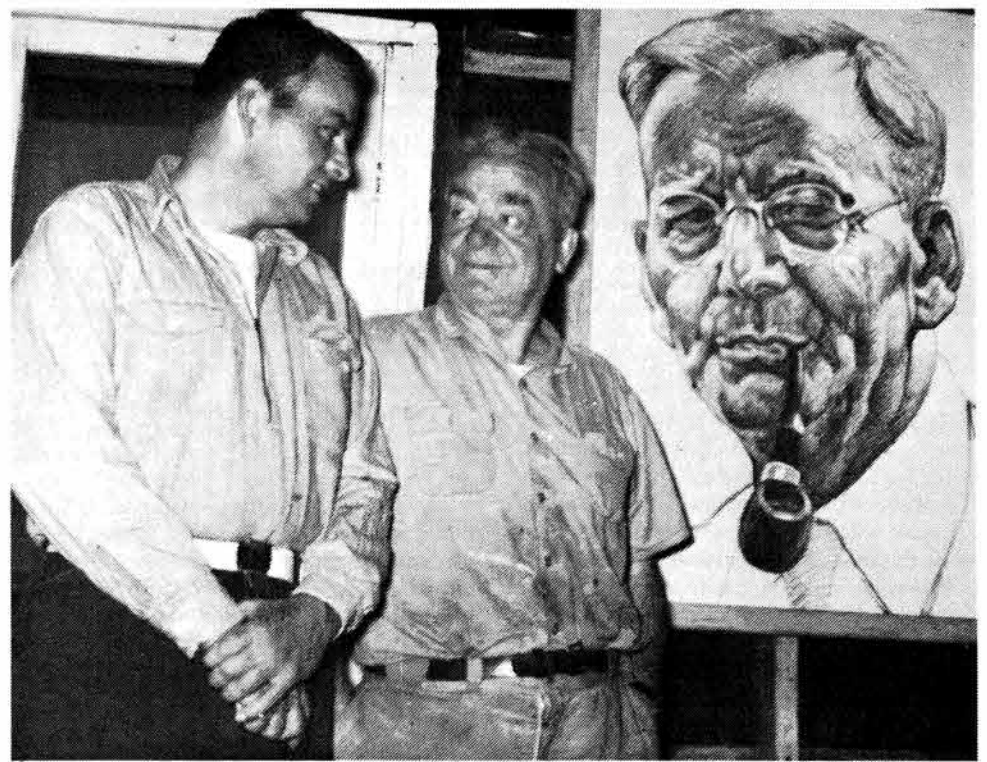
The SIU, like the other AFL seagoing unions, was dominated by "syndicalists." The syndicalists advocated trade union action to the exclusion of "politics." They had adopted more militant tactics in resisting government curbs on the rights of merchant seamen than the CP, which favored Franklin Roosevelt's administration and led the NMU.

Though the SIU was an industrial union, Coover found a Jim Crow set-up with Blacks relegated to certain jobs. SWP members fought to get rid of this system.

In the fall of 1943, Coover began to ship out of East Coast ports and became one of two SWP members in the NMU. Despite the grip on the union apparatus by Communist Party bureaucrats, Coover discovered a more political and open atmosphere than in the AFL union.

Blacks weren't segregated as they were on the AFL-organized ships. The union was on record as opposing racial segregation. Coover later pointed out, however, that it was only the threat of an A. Philip Randolph-led march on Washington for equal rights in 1941 that forced Roosevelt to act to enforce equal employment, thus eliminating segregated NMU hiring halls. Coover's report on the situation in the NMU was one of the factors involved in the party decision to begin reallocating forces to work in that union.

Stalinist control of the NMU hindered SWP members' ability to participate freely



Oscar Coover, Jr. (left) in 1959, with Socialist Workers Party founder Carl Skoglund and portrait of Oscar Coover, Sr.

Militant/Della Rossa

in the union on shore. But aboard ships at sea, Coover found, "We could discuss our opposition to the war, support to the class-war victims, and organize around these and other class-struggle ideas."

Postwar battles

Reporting on his experiences aboard one ship from July 1946 to March 1947, Coover wrote, "We never had more than five party members in a crew of 425. Yet very soon it became a ship that supported the struggle for democratizing the union. Each voyage saw many grievances settled through negotiations and job actions."

"We conducted classes on *Maritime*, a book on the history of maritime labor published by Pioneer Publishers [a predecessor of Pathfinder]. We also used *Socialism on Trial* [by SWP leader James P. Cannon] in a class for interested sailors. Much of our party's literature was in the crew library. Almost every evening there were political discussions in the various messrooms, often drawing 200 or more people."

During these postwar years the SWP gained a substantial number of new members among maritime workers.

After the war a dispute broke out in the NMU. Communist Party members, who held most union posts, had discredited themselves by sacrificing the interests of sailors to the war effort. Their slogan had been, "Keep 'em sailing." They promulgated a no-strike pledge, even proposing to extend it into the postwar period.

SWP members became part of the Rank-and-File Caucus, which called for democratizing the union. Other caucus members included former CP members who had run afoul of the party's leadership. Coover described other caucus members as "business-union types, and perhaps a majority of militant independents." The caucus included Joseph Curran, NMU national president, who had worked in tandem with the CP until then.

In 1946 Coover was asked to accept an appointment in the port of Baltimore as a patrolman (equivalent to organizer in other unions). "In consultation with the party, I accepted," Coover said.

Witch-hunt

"We took advantage of the opportunity to establish a party branch in Baltimore. It was a good branch, all working class, young. But the witch-hunt was beginning, and one of the first real bad witch-hunt laws was enacted in Maryland. It provided a \$10,000 fine or 10 years in prison or both for a member of any organization on the 'Attorney General's List' of allegedly 'subversive' organizations. This was a list arbitrarily compiled by the U.S. government. The SWP was included. Overnight our Baltimore organization evaporated, though we retained a few."

In 1948 the opposition caucus gained control of the NMU, as CP members were swept from office. With the Cold War anti-communist witch-hunt gaining momentum, Curran turned on his caucus allies and mobilized the most right-wing, racist, proemployer elements in the union.

Coover became part of a new opposition. "Politically it was committed to resisting the rapid shift to the right and the Cold War, the anticommunist affidavits,

and the witch-hunt against 'reds' throughout the labor movement."

Things came to a head at a special NMU convention in September 1949. Curran opened the convention with a harangue against the "Communist menace." He demanded a roll-call vote on a resolution that said in part, "We will defend our country in any war, including one with the Soviet Union." The resolution passed, with nearly half the delegates not voting.

"With this resolution the stage was set," Coover said years later. "The witch-hunt accelerated and the union, controlled by the right wing, joined the red-baiting chorus, which set the oppressive atmosphere that dominated the country for nearly 20 years."

"It was only with the rise of the civil rights movement and the Cuban revolution," Coover wrote, "that a breakthrough began."

Coover remained a patrolman until 1951. "I was the last patrolman that opposed the right wing in the union. I was finally forced to resign because they were about to frame me up, and that would have involved getting other people thrown out of the union as well. So, I resigned and went back to sea."

"But then the Coast Guard screened out all SWP members as part of the witch-hunt. We carried out a legal fight against this. Years later we finally got the legal right to sail. But by that time I had no desire to go back to sea."

Coover worked briefly at the big Sparrows Point steel mill in Baltimore. After getting fired he "knocked around in a variety of different jobs because the black list kept catching up with me."

After leaving Baltimore, Coover moved to Philadelphia for a time, then to New York City, where he became a local branch leader of the SWP. He also acquired the skills necessary to work as a carpenter.

In 1956 Coover and Della Rossa, who had become his companion, moved to Los Angeles. Here he found a branch of well

Continued on Page 13

Meetings to celebrate political contributions of Oscar Coover

Speakers:

Jack Barnes national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

Mary-Alice Waters editor of *New International*.

(partial list)

New York City

Fri., Nov. 18, 7:30 p.m., 79 Leonard Street, Manhattan. Donation \$5.

Los Angeles

Sun., Nov. 20, 2:00 p.m., Letter Carriers' Hall, 774 S. Valencia St. Donation \$3.

To send messages or for more information: SWP, 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013. (212) 219-3679; or SWP, 2546 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90006. (213) 380-9460.

Revolution comes to the Atlantic Coast

BY HARVEY McARTHUR
AND JUDY WHITE

(Second of four parts)

PUERTO CABEZAS, Nicaragua — Prior to the 1979 Sandinista revolution, a few Indians and Blacks from Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast had joined the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Of these, most had been won to the revolutionary struggle while studying at universities in the Pacific regions of the country. They understood that toilers of the Atlantic Coast, like those in the rest of Nicaragua, could advance only by fighting to overthrow the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship and replace it with a revolutionary government representing the workers and peasants. However, the FSLN had little organized presence in the Atlantic regions at the time.

Nonetheless, the Sandinista Front had begun to develop a political approach to the Atlantic Coast long before the overthrow of Somoza in 1979. Its Historic Program, adopted in 1969, pledged to "put into practice a special plan for the Atlantic Coast" to promote economic development, "encourage the flourishing of this region's local cultural values," and "wipe out the odious discrimination" suffered by the indigenous peoples of the coast.

This statement of general aims would need to be made more concrete. But this could only happen when the indigenous peoples of the coast themselves began to organize and fight for their rights on a large scale. That started to happen only after the 1979 revolution.

"After the overthrow of Somoza, the FSLN told the Sumu people they had the right to speak out and raise demands," says Livingston Frank, coordinator of the Sumu Indian organization Sukawala. He talked with the *Militant* about the early years of the revolution in a recent interview in the Sumu village of Fruta de Pan.

"The new government gave us confidence. This was the opportunity to demand our rights," Frank recalls.

Since the revolution, more *costeños*, as the Atlantic Coast peoples are called, have been won to the ranks of the FSLN. Some

In September Harvey McArthur and Judy White of our Managua Bureau made a reporting trip to the North Atlantic region of Nicaragua.

This week we are publishing the second installment of a four-part article they have written on the peace and autonomy process in that area.

This coverage provides background on the economic and social conditions in the North Atlantic area, the shifts in the policies of the Nicaraguan government, and the challenges facing the residents in the post-contra war period.

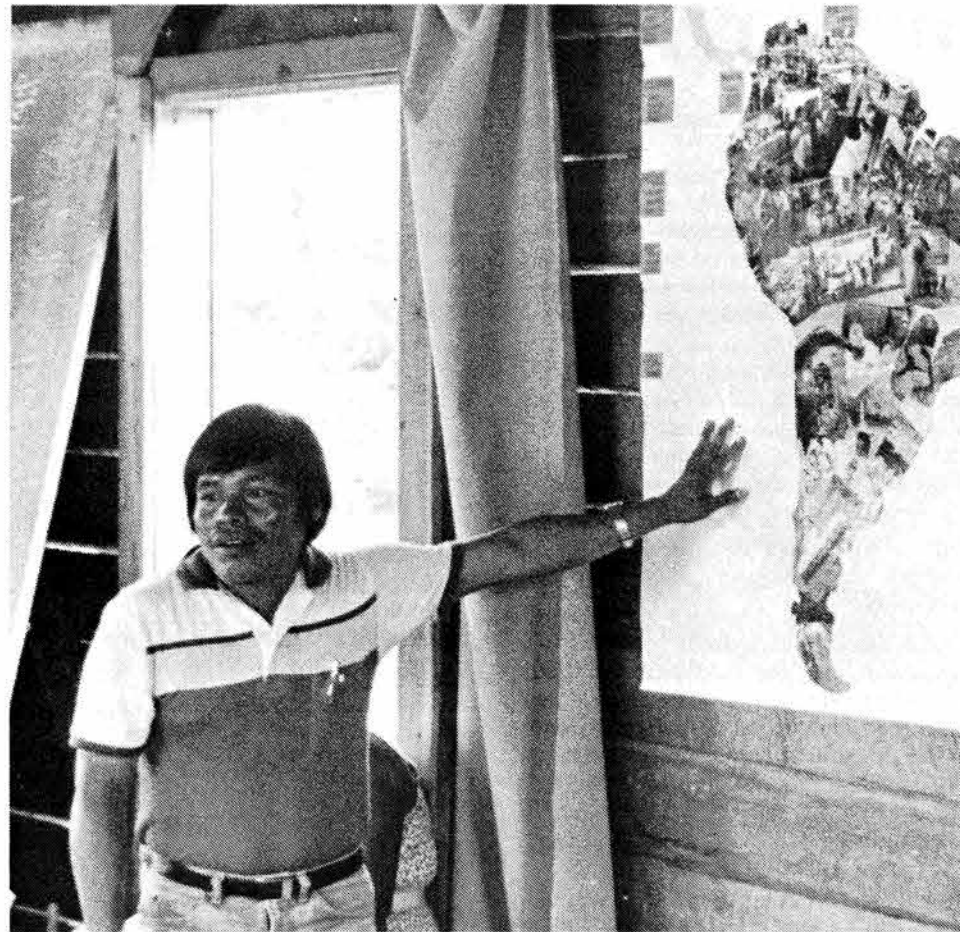
The most severe damage caused by Hurricane Joan in October was in the Bluefields area on the South Atlantic Coast. —The Editors

are now central leaders of local and regional coast governments. In the first years after 1979, however, most of the new government officials on the Atlantic Coast came from other parts of the country. They lacked knowledge or understanding of the situation and aspirations of the Indian and Black peoples of the coast.

Support Indian organization

In one of its first steps, the FSLN backed the formation of MISURASATA in November 1979. This was an Indian organization that was to represent the Miskito, Sumu, and Rama Indians of the Atlantic Coast. The government supported MISURASATA financially and worked with its leadership to organize development projects and a Miskito-language literacy drive.

However, the FSLN was allowed precious little time to deepen its contact with and learn from the coast toilers. The U.S. government, working through the CIA and the contras, acted quickly to take advantage of mistakes committed by the Sandinistas, exacerbating the divisions on the coast and provoking armed uprisings



Militant/Harvey McArthur
Coordinator Livingston Frank speaks at assembly of Sukawala, the Sumu Indian organization in Nicaragua. He gave talk in September on different Indian groups throughout Latin America. Gathering was in Sumu village of Fruta de Pan on Atlantic Coast.

against the revolutionary government.

This "pushed us into a de facto situation of responding militarily without having a profound familiarity with the reality of the zone," recalled William Ramírez in a 1984 interview with the Managua daily *El Nuevo Diario*. He was head of the regional government during the early 1980s.

A key leader in the counterrevolutionary offensive was Steadman Fagoth, a central figure in MISURASATA. Fagoth had been an informer for Somoza's police and was an opponent of the Sandinista revolution. He took advantage of the suspicion many Miskitos had long felt toward people from the Pacific, and resentments fueled by initial Sandinista errors, to organize opposition to the new revolutionary government.

Some other MISURASATA leaders joined in Fagoth's efforts. Beginning in 1980, they spread the lie that the new government was actually opposed to Indian interests. They said that the increased health care, education, and other benefits the revolution was bringing were due solely to MISURASATA pressure on the Sandinistas.

This counterrevolutionary propaganda also charged that the Sandinistas planned to take away the Indians' lands. This lie was made more credible by the fact that in the first four years of the revolution the government did not begin to give villages titles to their traditional lands.

The counterrevolutionaries also claimed that Indian children would be forced to go to Cuba or Russia and turned into atheists. Some Moravian pastors, authoritative figures in most Miskito communities, played a big role in the anti-Sandinista campaign.

At times these lies were spread right in front of government officials during public rallies and assemblies. The officials didn't speak Miskito and so couldn't understand what was being said by MISURASATA speakers.

Washington provokes armed attacks

At the beginning of 1981, Fagoth and his followers decided "to declare open war on the Sandinistas" as part of escalating U.S. war moves against Nicaragua. Washington orchestrated an international propaganda campaign charging the Sandinista government with genocide against Indians. The CIA organized contra military attacks aimed at winning a foothold on the Atlantic Coast as a first step toward overthrowing the revolution.

In January 1981 MISURASATA presented a list of demands to the government, including the right of the organization to collect taxes and exercise "autonomous control" over 38 percent of Nicaraguan ter-

ritory. MISURASATA then began to organize demonstrations calling for the expulsion of all Sandinistas, Blacks, and mestizos from the coast.

The government responded by arresting Fagoth and other leaders of MISURASATA in February 1981. Clashes broke out during some of the arrests, and four Miskitos and four Sandinista soldiers were killed in the town of Prinzapolka.

MISURASATA then organized demonstrations demanding the release of the prisoners, and large rallies were held in several North Atlantic towns. A small number of Miskito youth went to Honduras and joined the contras at that time.

The Nicaraguan government quickly released the detainees, except for Fagoth, who by then had been identified as a former agent of the Somozaist police. However, his past did not diminish his popularity among many Miskitos. MISURASATA continued to press for his release.

Fagoth was set free in May 1981 and immediately went to Honduras to work openly with the contras.

1981 Sandinista Declaration

In the face of this worsening situation, FSLN leaders continued to try to improve relations with the Miskitos and to work with MISURASATA. In August 1981 the FSLN and the revolutionary government issued a joint "Declaration of Principles of the Sandinista People's Revolution on the Indigenous Communities of the Atlantic Coast."

The declaration stated that Nicaragua was "one nation" that could not be dismembered or divided and that Spanish was its official language. All citizens had equal rights, it said. The revolution would "fight all forms of racial, linguistic, and cultural discrimination" and "provide the necessary means" to promote the traditional cultures and preserve the languages of the Miskitos, Sumus, Ramas, and Blacks.

The declaration guaranteed *costeños* "participation in all social, economic, and political affairs that concern them." In addition, part of the proceeds of exploiting the coast's natural resources would be used to benefit the Indian peoples, and they would be given legal title to the lands they had historically occupied.

Despite this proclamation, the political situation continued to deteriorate, and the armed conflict grew. Thousands of Miskitos fled to Honduras during 1981, seeking refuge from the fighting and from what they saw as a hostile Nicaraguan government. Some volunteered to join the contra bands, and others were forced to join once they arrived in Honduras. Reactionary

Miskito forces, such as Fagoth and those who agreed with him, held sway, not yet successfully challenged by a new, revolutionary leadership among the Miskitos.

Contra terrorism escalated during late 1981, targeting representatives of the Sandinista government, including teachers, medical workers, and agriculture and forestry specialists.

The Nicaraguan government responded by increasing its military forces in the region. It also imposed a form of martial law on the Atlantic Coast. This restricted travel and required all coast residents to carry special passes.

By then, many Miskitos had relatives fighting with the contras. The Sandinista police and army frequently arrested Miskitos for collaboration with the contras, but this often tended to deepen opposition to the government.

In a recent interview with the Managua magazine *Envío*, Hazel Lau recalled that many people in the villages supported the anti-Sandinista combatants and gave them food. "They said they fought against the FSLN for their lands and for recognition of their rights," she said. Lau, today an FSLN deputy in the Nicaraguan National Assembly, was a founder and leader of MISURASATA and one of those arrested along with Fagoth in 1981.

Indians moved from border

In late 1981, the contras stepped up raids along the Coco River as they tried to gain a foothold inside Nicaraguan territory. The fighting caused mounting casualties among the Indians living in the area. Sandinista officials then decided to move the border population to settlements well within Nicaraguan territory.

This forced relocation was carried out by the Sandinista army beginning in January 1982. Children and older people were taken in trucks and helicopters, while others had to make the long march on foot. They had to abandon their homes and many of their animals and other possessions.

The relocation settlements were built along the Puerto Cabezas-Rosita road and named Tasba Pri, "Free Land" in Miskito. Over time, the government constructed simple wooden houses, gave the families land for agriculture, and provided health care and education programs.

However, the resettlement was strongly opposed by many Miskitos. They did not view the new land as theirs, as they had the community land along the Coco. In addition, there was the shock of the forced departure, the loss of many possessions, and the change from life along a river to that on a plain. In the new settlements it was impossible to fish or farm in the same way Miskitos had done for generations along the Coco. Furthermore, many were already hostile to the government and did not see the contras as their enemy.

The government managed to move 13,000 Miskitos from the Coco River to the interior of the country during 1982. Some others left the area on their own and went to Puerto Cabezas or other towns to live.

However, many Miskitos fled to Honduras during this time. In all, about half of Nicaragua's 80,000 Miskitos went to Honduras during the early years of the war, and thousands of them joined the forces fighting alongside the contras.

Search for political solution

As the fighting continued, it became clearer that military means alone would not solve the conflict. Some FSLN leaders and *costeños* began to look for political answers.

"The war was terrible for the Indians," explains Susana Morley, a Miskito originally from the Coco River. She now lives in Puerto Cabezas and heads the Women's Movement of the North Atlantic Autonomous Region.

"There were ambushes right outside of Puerto Cabezas during the early 1980s," Morley says. "Many were killed, including defenseless Miskitos. This began to make us think: here were Indians being killed by Indians. And we began to work on the

Continued on Page 10

Supporters go all out to make int'l sales drive goals by Nov. 19

BY JIM WHITE

Coming out of our best week so far, supporters of the *Militant* are going all out to make the goal in the final full week of the international circulation campaign.

The drive got up to full speed for the first time during the October 29–November 5 target week. The scoreboard shows that we are now at 75 percent of the goal of winning 10,400 readers for the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazines *New International* and *Nouvelle Internationale*. Although the drive is 5 percent behind where it should be, last week it was 6 percent behind.

In addition, we are now making up ground in the drive to sell more than 20,540 copies of the *Action Program* to *Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*, a Pathfinder pamphlet that contains proposals by the Socialist Workers Party. Total sales of 13,702 copies of the pamphlet put us at 67 percent of the goal, closing the gap by three percentage points in the last week.

In a series of phone interviews, coordinators of the campaign in several cities told us about their plans for building on this momentum to reach and surpass their goals by November 19.

Jim Little in Pittsburgh, where the local goals are within reach this weekend, says, "We're going to go as far over as we can. For example, we've sold the most *Militant* subscriptions from campus tables, so we're doing more of them."

He added, "We've never had a week as good as last week. Some people went out every night. When you have that kind of campaign spirit, it's fun."

In Chicago, supporters have a long way to go by November 19, and they are going a long way to do it. Omari Musa told us that four overnight teams have traveled to Indiana and Wisconsin in the last two weeks. "Next week is the biggest one," he said. "We have three people headed to Indiana for four full days. The rest of us will be taking advantage of every opportunity here in town."

James Harris reported on New York City plans for a successful finish. "Our biggest challenge will be to make our *PM* goal, but we know we can do it with a concentrated effort in Spanish-speaking working-class

communities starting Saturday and continuing through the week."

He also expects that the target for *New International* and *Nouvelle Internationale* will be made this weekend by combining direct sales from tables on the streets with efforts begun earlier in the week to place the magazines in bookstores and newsstands. On the *Militant*, he said, "Our last two Saturdays have been very successful, and combined with the full-time teams we have been sending to campuses upstate for the last two weeks, we're right where we need to be to sell the 600 subscriptions."

Full-time teams in West Virginia and the Midwest will contribute to the overall total, focusing on plant gates, campuses, and farm areas.

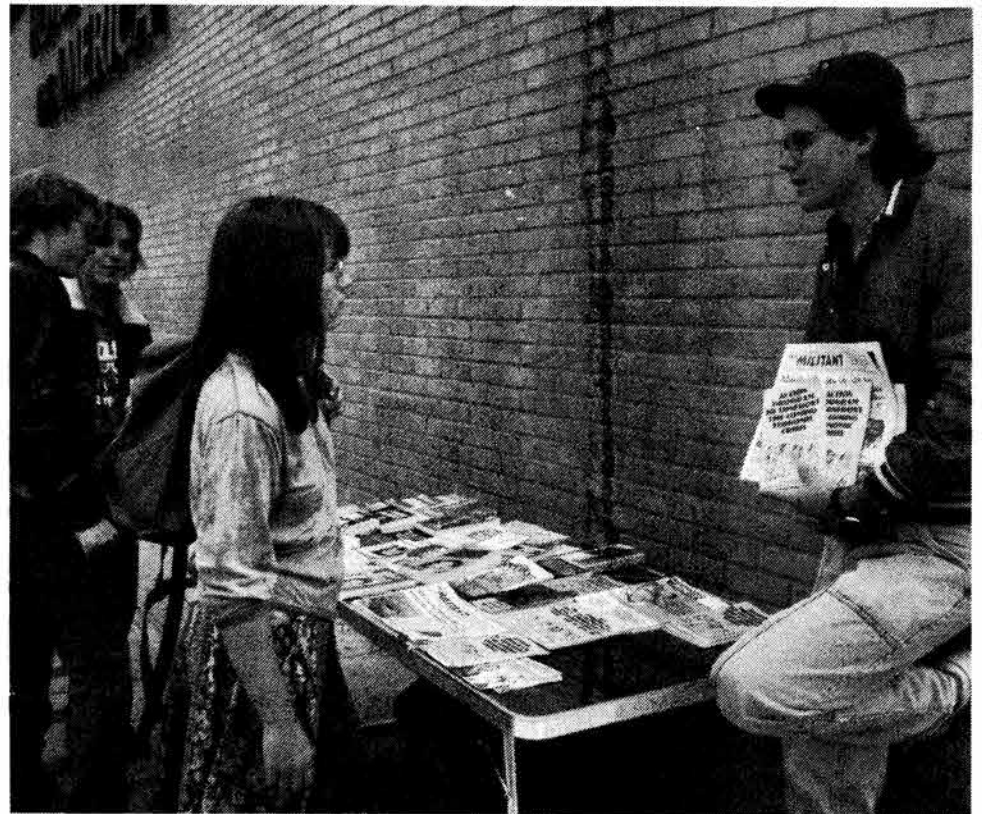
John Steele reports from Montréal that enthusiasm over the publication of *Lutte Ouvrière* in its new monthly format has given the whole drive a shot in the arm. Supporters sold at least nine subscriptions and 21 single copies the day it arrived. Since the first issue contains the *Action Program* in French, sales of the magazine are counted as part of the 20,540 goal.

Steele also reported that a regional team will go to Quebec City November 10 to participate in a demonstration called by striking students. Some 50,000 junior college students, joined by university students, are on strike against tuition raises and cuts in financial aid.

Yvonne Hayes in Greensboro reports that our supporters will continue to respond to the shutdown of two textile plants in nearby Gibsonville and Reidsville. Cone Mills announced the layoff of a total of 825 workers on October 25.

"We went there as soon as we heard about it. Workers at the two plants snapped up 24 copies of the *Action Program* from our teams at the gates," she said. "Another 25 copies were sold in the towns. One team at the plant gate in Gibsonville that included Stuart Crome, the socialist candidate for governor, was covered on local TV news." Other supporters sold nine copies of the *Action Program* at their textile workplaces.

If you would like to help the drive go over the top, look us up on page 12, or call our business office in New York at (212) 929-3486.



Militant/Selva Nebbia
Sales table in Oakland, California. Special effort by *Militant* supporters around the world to sell *Action Program* has pushed sales to 13,702 copies of pamphlet.

Sales drive scoreboard

Area	Drive Goals			Militant subscriptions		New International* single copies		Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
UNITED STATES									
Portland, Ore.	160	143	89	120	112	25	22	15	9
Cleveland	165	147	89	110	93	40	42	15	12
Pittsburgh	250	222	89	185	162	45	47	20	13
Price, Utah	70	61	87	50	43	10	11	10	7
Salt Lake City	125	108	86	90	81	20	16	15	11
Newark	530	440	83	275	223	140	141	115	76
Austin, Minn.	110	88	80	85	64	15	14	10	10
Boston	350	278	79	230	164	50	71	70	43
Oakland, Calif.	215	166	77	120	122	45	7	50	37
Philadelphia	250	192	77	160	128	40	30	50	34
Washington, DC	250	189	76	150	99	50	48	50	42
Charleston, WV	105	79	75	85	67	15	7	5	5
Birmingham	185	139	75	145	115	30	19	10	5
Atlanta	220	163	74	160	126	40	13	20	24
St. Louis	220	163	74	170	118	40	40	10	5
New York	1,200	874	73	600	469	300	219	300	186
Los Angeles	700	508	73	375	260	125	72	200	176
Seattle	275	199	72	200	148	25	21	50	30
Omaha	135	96	71	90	76	25	6	20	14
Milwaukee	170	120	71	110	80	35	14	25	26
Twin Cities	350	244	70	270	188	50	30	30	26
Greensboro, NC	150	103	69	110	82	25	18	15	3
Morgantown, WV	175	120	69	135	90	30	27	10	3
Baltimore	215	143	67	175	127	30	4	10	12
Miami	300	191	64	185	116	55	42	60	33
Detroit	265	168	63	200	142	40	17	25	9
Kansas City	120	74	62	75	55	20	9	25	10
Des Moines	210	126	60	150	97	40	22	20	7
Phoenix	160	92	58	80	53	25	8	55	31
Chicago	460	264	57	300	189	60	30	100	45
Houston	215	114	53	140	72	30	18	45	24
San Francisco	350	184	53	200	128	75	16	75	40
National teams	200	58	29	130	54	20	0	50	4
Columbus	25	6	24	25	6	—	—	—	—
Denver	24	17	71	15	10	2	0	7	7
Louisville	5	1	20	5	1	—	—	—	—
Other U.S.	—	57	—	—	42	—	13	—	2
U.S. totals	8,909	6,337	71	5,705	4,202	1,617	1,114	1,587	1,021
AUSTRALIA									
50	28	56	35	22	5	4	10	2	
BRITAIN									
London	145	142	98	75	89	30	28	40	25
Manchester	70	47	67	50	34	15	12	5	1
Nottingham	61	38	62	35	31	20	4	6	3
South Wales	80	23	29	40	18	30	1	10	4
South Yorks	90	25	28	50	19	20	3	20	3
Other Britain	54	64	—	25	47	20	14	9	3
Britain totals	500	339	68	275	238	135	62	90	39
CANADA									
Vancouver	45	38	84	30	25	5	5	10	8
Montréal	275	204	74	125	86	75	75	75	43
Toronto	400	269	67	250	178	75	57	75	34
National team	—	113	—	—	91	—	10	—	12
Other Canada	—	4	—	—	4	—	—	—	—
Canada totals	720	628	87	405	384	155	147	160	97
ICELAND									
32	19	59	25	15	5	4	2	0	
NEW ZEALAND									
Auckland	145	117	81	100	87	35	22	10	8
Wellington	92	68	74	68	59	22	8	2	1
Christchurch	70	46	66	60	44	8	1	2	1
New Zealand totals	307	231	75	228	190	65	31	14	10
PUERTO RICO									
30	13	43	5	5	2	0	23	8	
SWEDEN									
65	56	86	35	33	10	3	20	20	
Other International	—	147	—	—	87	—	40	—	20
Totals	10,613	7,798	75%	6,713	5,176	1,994	1,405	1,906	1,217
Drive Goals	10,400			6,630		1,895		1,875	
Should be		8,349	80%		5,323		1,521		1,505

*Includes *Nouvelle Internationale*

Action Program scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold	%	Area	Goal	Sold	%
UNITED STATES							
Greensboro, NC	250	308	123	Austin, Minn.	200	73	37
Price, Utah	150	134	89	National teams	500	400	80
Los Angeles	1,100	972	88	Columbus	50	8	16
Newark	1,000	846	85	U.S. totals	18,180	12,123	67
Phoenix	230	190	83	AUSTRALIA			
Oakland	575	470	82	50	27	54	
Twin Cities	700	563	80	BRITAIN			
Salt Lake City	225	177	79	Manchester	100	85	85
Charleston, WV	350	272	78	Nottingham	100	56	56
Cleveland	350	271	77	London	200	108	54
Portland, Ore.	275	210	76	South Wales	100	40	40
Morgantown, WV	400	296	74	South Yorks	200	39	20
Milwaukee	325	232	71	Other Britain	100	53	53
Philadelphia	475	338	71	Britain totals	800	381	48
Seattle	425	297	70	CANADA			
Washington, DC	575	401	70	Montréal	250	180	72
Birmingham	325	223	69	Toronto	700	438	63
Chicago	700	480	69	Vancouver	45	16	36
Omaha	400	272	68	National team	—	64	—
St. Louis	500	326	65	Canada totals	995	698	70
Pittsburgh	400	256	64	ICELAND			
San Francisco	700	420	60	10	4	40	
Baltimore	375	213	57	NEW ZEALAND			
Atlanta	450	251	56	Christchurch	150	123	82
Des Moines	350	195	56	Auckland	250	184	74
Boston	575	319	55	Wellington	150	86	57
Miami	500	268	54	New Zealand totals	550	393	71
New York	3,500	1,841	53	PUERTO RICO			
Detroit	525	271	52	30	10	33	
Kansas City	275	154	52	SWEDEN			
Houston	450	186	41	50	27	54	
				Other international	—	39	—
				Totals	20,665	13,702	67%
				Drive goals	20,540		
				Should be		16,490	80%

California longshore workers meet Mickells

BY PETER FRIGERI

LOS ANGELES — Talking politics with longshore workers was one of the high points of the southern California tour of Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president.

Mickells teamed up with Mike Downs, a longtime dockworker, and other SWP campaign supporters at dawn November 4 at a campaign literature table in Wilmington at the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union dispatch hall. Hundreds of dockworkers gather there to pick up and cash their paychecks and be dispatched to jobs.

For the past month, Downs has made a special effort to publicize the Socialist Workers campaign to fellow longshoremen and has talked to many truck drivers who bring cargo in and out of the harbor. He had sold 240 of them copies of the *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis* by the time of Mickells' visit. The pamphlet highlights the need for a fight for a shorter workweek, affirmative action, and cancellation of the Third World debt on the front cover. Three-fourths had bought the Spanish edition.

Downs told Mickells and Joel Britton, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California, that many of the Spanish-speaking truck drivers point approvingly to the "Cancel the Third World debt" demand on the front cover, or the "Support the Socialist Workers 1988 election campaign" statement on the back as they get out their dollar for the pamphlet.

At the campaign table, Downs introduced Mickells and Britton to longshore workers — men and women — he knew. Some of these workers have actively supported ILWU-sponsored efforts in solidarity with striking meat-packers in the Midwest and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. "Free Nelson Mandela" T-shirts displayed at the table attracted a lot of interest from these and other dockworkers.

John, a member of the union local's executive board, frankly expressed his feelings of dismay with the current two-party system. But he also felt that realistically, a party like the Socialist Workers Party could not do much.

Mickells replied that she was campaigning to try to get working people to realize that their interests are not the same as those of the Democratic and Republican candidates. The key idea, she said, is that workers have to fight for their own interests and not expect someone else to do it for them.

John commented that he thought the rich are not going to give up anything without a fight and that more solidarity will be needed in the tough times ahead. John bought the *Action Program*, as did seven others.

Another worker, Frank, bought books by Nelson Mandela, Thomas Sankara, and Malcolm X and stayed for a lengthy discussion on these revolutionary fighters and their relevance to the struggle outlined in the *Action Program* to unite working people.

Judge drops charges against 2 Dominican activists in New York

BY MIKE TABER

NEW YORK — A victory for democratic rights was won November 4 when charges were dropped against two Dominican political activists who were victims of a police attack.

Ydani Rodríguez and Porfirio López, both activists in the Dominican Workers Party, had been charged with disorderly conduct — later changed to obstructing traffic — for an incident on October 1. While distributing leaflets on a public street corner, the two were accosted by a police officer who ordered them to leave.

When the two protested, the cop physically attacked them, called for police reinforcement, and had them handcuffed and arrested. All the while the cops showered Rodríguez and López with racist abuse.

Before a group of the activists' supporters and in the absence of the arresting officer, the judge announced there was nothing illegal about what they did and ordered the charges dropped.

As Frank was getting ready to leave with the six to eight titles he had bought — as well as the *Action Program*, the *Militant*, a Mandela T-shirt, and eight anti-apartheid buttons — Mickells asked him how long he had been interested in politics. Frank stopped, shrugged his shoulders, smiled, and said, "I'm just beginning to become conscious."

After less than two hours, longshore workers had laid out \$124 for literature, T-shirts, and buttons.

Young Socialist Alliance supporters who had accompanied Mickells left to go to Loyola Marymount University to work with students there to publicize a meeting scheduled for later in Mickells' tour.

Mickells went on to a meeting with an aerospace worker who had read the *Action Program* and wanted to talk about joining the Socialist Workers Party. After a far-ranging political discussion, this worker — already a subscriber to the *Militant* — bought all six issues of the Marxist mag-

azine *New International*.

On November 5 some 70 people filled the socialist campaign headquarters for Mickells' talk on "The Decline of the U.S. Empire and the Road Forward for Working People." The next morning, some two dozen young people met to continue the discussion that had begun the night before, centering on what they could do to most effectively fight to change society. A high school student agreed that it was time to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

At another meeting sponsored by the YSA the next day in San Diego, three more young people expressed interest in joining the SWP, and another decided to join the YSA.

BY PETER ANESTOS

OAKLAND, Calif. — Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Kathleen Mickells visited the campus of California State University at Fresno October 28

as part of her tour in the Bay Area here in northern California.

Speaking to two women's studies classes in the morning, Mickells chronicled the expanding role of women in the industrial work force. She explained why fighting for affirmative action is fundamental to the struggle for women's equality. A lively discussion followed the socialist candidate's defense of women's right to abortion.

A dozen people attended an evening meeting sponsored by the Women's Alliance, a student organization. Among those present were leaders of the Latin America Support Committee and Lesbian/Gay Student Alliance.

Earlier in the day, Mickells had visited the "free speech" area of the campus and talked to students at a Pathfinder literature table set up by the Young Socialist Alliance. More than \$180 in books and pamphlets were sold, and 24 students signed up for more information about the YSA.

Warren campaigns in Kansas City area

BY JON HILLSON

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — A highlight of Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate James Warren's campaign swing in this area was a citywide forum held at the newly opened Pathfinder Bookstore October 30. The bookstore's meeting room was filled with a crowd of Black, Mexican, and white workers from the airline, paper, chemical, auto, meat-packing, and other industries who came to hear Warren. Several high school and college students also attended, along with local leaders and activists in the Nicaragua solidarity movement.

An hour of intense discussion followed Warren's talk. One college student asked about the capacity of working people to lead struggles against their exploitation.

"Everything in history teaches us that out of economic instability, there will be political struggle; that out of economic crisis and breakdowns, there will be social explosions," Warren responded. This is the deep significance of the 1987 Wall Street stock market crash, he said. "It is not simply the devastation that the crash signals is coming," he pointed out, "but the battles those conditions will produce."

"That this will happen, we assume," Warren emphasized. "But leadership is not assumed. It is not guaranteed. History does not repeat itself, but the same mistakes made in the past can be repeated. That is why conscious preparation of leadership is absolutely decisive."

Ordinary working people, political activists, and young people can "conquer revolutionary ideas and practice real politics," Warren explained. "But this takes work. It takes applied labor power. It's not a question of how you 'feel' or what you 'think' about an issue or the world. It's a question of the facts of what is really happening, of learning how the past sets up the present, and preparing for the future coming towards us."

Two days later Warren spoke at the University of Kansas in Lawrence to more than 60 students who packed a room in the student union. Socialist campaigners from Kansas City, mostly industrial workers, had played a big role in building the campus event.

Cuba was one of the topics Warren talked about in the long discussion that followed his presentation. He spent some time detailing the achievements of the Cuban revolution, and the big steps forward being taken by workers and farmers in that country today through what is known as the "rectification process" — a struggle to deepen the revolution itself. At the heart of the rectification process is the mobilization of workers and peasants to solve Cuba's burning social needs — such as housing and childcare centers — through voluntary work brigades.

"Did you know about any of this?" Warren asked the students. "Have you ever heard of this? Why do you think Reagan hates Cuba so much? Because Castro is a dictator? If he were a dictator, Reagan would love him."

"Every speech," Warren continued, as laughter and applause subsided, "given by Cuban President Fidel Castro, everything



Militant/Jon Hillson
"Cuba is the example of what humanity can accomplish," SWP presidential candidate James Warren (right) told University of Kansas at Lawrence students. More than 60 attended his meeting November 1.

he says, educates how indispensable the Cuban people, ordinary working people are. And how key their collective action is."

He encouraged the students to learn

more about Cuba. "It is the example in the world today of what an organized, conscious, educated mass of humanity can accomplish," he stressed. "That too is our future."

Canadian socialist on trade pact

Continued from front page

the pact. It is the reality of a 12 percent drop in real wages in less than a decade; 1 million unemployed in a country of 25 million and 500,000 people dependent on welfare; longer working hours; the growth of food banks across the country; the rise of homelessness; tens of thousands of farmers driven off the land; and discrimination against 1 million Native people and immigrant workers from Central America, Haiti, Africa, and Asia that is behind this opposition."

The campaign of the Liberals and New Democrats against the free trade pact "taps into the unease over these conditions," Manwaring explained. "But it offers no answers — only a dead end."

Manwaring and the RWL's parliamentary candidate from Montréal, Michel Dugré, have been explaining the proposals in the SWP's *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis* as they've campaigned in recent months. Working people in Canada "are part of a class in the world that has common interests," she explained, "and we must unite in self-defense against the super-rich in the United States and Canada to face up to the even bigger crisis that the October 1987 stock market crash signaled," Manwaring said.

Explaining the significance of the crash, the 1930s-like depression it heralds, and how "thinking workers, serious political fighters, and others can prepare before-

hand" has been at the heart of the SWP's 1988 campaign, Warren told the crowd.

As he and running mate Kathleen Mickells have spoken around the country, they've given serious, educational presentations that take some time, he said. Their campaign speeches provide an overview of the class struggle since the last great stock market crash in 1929 and subsequent depression.

Working people need to learn how the present grows out of the past, Warren explained. For fighters who want to advance the struggle for human progress, it is an "absolute necessity to view ourselves as a common humanity of the exploited and oppressed — the working class of the world."

Without this starting point, the socialist candidate stressed, "there will be no advances. Nothing will be possible."

"We have learned a lot in this campaign," Warren said, "and accomplished more than we thought we could when we started out." Supporters of the SWP campaign will keep discussing these ideas and selling the *Action Program* to as many people as possible, Warren said. "In this sense, nothing changes for us."

"We must reach out to those we can," Warren added, "and go through the discussion with them — with workers, fighters for Black rights, fighters for women's rights, Nicaragua solidarity activists, youth. We don't write anyone off. We take these perspectives to them."

How coming economic recession will shake up U.S. politics

Continued from front page

turn from an increasingly overheated and speculatively driven paper chase will be very severe.

The decline once again in investments in new plant capacity after a less-than-two-year cyclical increase; the inability to reduce the massive government, corporate, and private debt; the growing insolvency of parts of the savings and loan system; and defaults of insurance companies are among some of the factors that create greater vulnerability when the downturn occurs.

Social pressures and breakdowns

There are also several signs that the intensity of breakdowns and social pressures is increasing as the creeping crisis continues to deepen.

A glimmer of the toll that the employers' drive to speed up production is having on workers was seen when the Occupational Safety and Health Administration fined John Morrell & Co. \$4.3 million last month for willfully ignoring serious health hazards. OSHA's report said the incidence of cumulative trauma injuries such as tendonitis and carpal tunnel syndrome was "the worst condition we've found in any industry."

At its meat-packing plant in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, 40 percent of the employees had suffered some form of cumulative trauma disorder in the past year. A struggle by packinghouse workers forced OSHA to take punitive action against Morrell.

The brutalizing working conditions at Morrell plants are only symptomatic, however, of the widespread speedup and reorganization of the work process by meat packers and other employers to squeeze more profits out of workers. They are the bitter fruit of the bipartisan effort to make big business in the United States more competitive on the world market.

The extent of the disregard by the capitalist rulers for health and safety as they press to achieve their economic and political aims was also shown last month by a congressional committee report on nuclear safety.

For the past 40 years, the report said, the government's 15 nuclear weapons production plants had been operating unsafely and were responsible for widespread soil, air, and water contamination. And to top it off, many government officials were totally

aware that this was happening. The scope of the hazardous conditions and the cover-up to prevent them from being exposed to the light of day confirm that maintaining both a vast nuclear arsenal and guaranteeing nuclear safety are impossible.

In another arena, the emergence of a large pauperized layer of the working class made up of long-term unemployed, who more and more face homelessness and are disproportionately victims of drug abuse; and youth, many of whom have no hope of ever getting a job, has led to intensified use of police brutalization. Under the social pressures, degrading harassment and assaults on workers — Blacks, Latinos, women, and youth — are mounting. Even discipline among the cops seems to break down more often in explosive situations that suddenly get out of control.

Moreover, the integration of the police forces with more women and Blacks in many cities has not brought a "more sensitive" police force. Rather the contradictions of the social breakdown is increasingly reflected in the police forces themselves. Even the unstoppable racist and sexist abuse of fellow police officers shows this — from Des Moines, Iowa, to New York City.

In a single New York City precinct, for example, 50 white cops were recently charged with subjecting Black cops to racial slurs. But as usual, no punitive action was taken except to transfer the racist cops to other precincts. Women in custody remain in open season to sexual advances by male cops.

The mounting social pressures, along with the jolt of last year's stock market crash, is jarring the thinking of hundreds of thousands of workers and farmers. There is widespread recognition that a crisis is coming and that it will be deep, something not seen for generations, and not far away. Conditions are going to get worse, not better.

A sharp recession in the next couple of years will deepen the discontent and struggles of working people and spur an intensified search for governmental protection against worsening conditions and for international allies. The pace and forms of the working-class fight are not clear at this point, but one thing is certain: great pressure will be exerted on the current two-party structural framework of capitalist

politics in the United States today.

In fact, the next economic crisis will force the biggest shake-up in capitalist politics since the 1930s. The current bipartisan setup will be unable to contain the political pressures.

What happened in 1930s

To appreciate the significance of this, a look at how capitalist politics were restructured in the 1930s is necessary. By 1934 a massive labor upsurge had developed as workers fought to defend themselves against the ravages of the Great Depression kicked off by the 1929 stock market crash. Millions of workers — fighters and leaders who seemed to come out of nowhere — mobilized in a broad social movement. This gave birth to the Congress of Industrial Organizations, which for the first time successfully organized millions of industrial workers into unions. And it inspired and forged ties with fighting farmers who were being driven off their land by capitalist bankers and landlords.

The thrust of this movement was toward deepening the organization, self-confidence, and political independence of the working class and working farmers. The direction was toward workers establishing their own party, based on the new unions they were building and the social struggles they were leading.

But this potential development was cut short as top labor officials, backed by the Communist and Socialist parties, kept the movement contained within the political framework of helping to make the capitalist system work.

In *Teamster Politics* (Pathfinder: New York, 1975.), Farrell Dobbs, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and of the militant Teamsters union in the Midwest in the 1930s, described this process. "Frightened by the breadth and intensity of the developing conflict," he wrote, "the top CIO officials looked from the outset for a way to bring the situation back within class-collaborationist bounds."

"As a means toward that end," Dobbs continued, "they seized upon the 1936 presidential campaign. Steps were taken to center union attention on support of [Franklin] Roosevelt's candidacy for reelection. That backing, it was hoped, would induce him to use governmental influence to get the CIO a few concessions from the giant monopolies in basic industry, thereby helping to restore more peaceful class relations."

This move by CIO officials to throw labor's weight behind Roosevelt and the Democratic Party began the process of institutionalizing a qualitative restructuring of the capitalist political setup. Prior to the 1936 elections, the labor movement didn't generally favor one of the two main capitalist parties over the other. In the period before the upsurge in the 1930s, labor officials took a "non-partisan" stance, backing whichever candidates they thought would most likely push "pro-labor" legislation. "Reward your friends; defeat your enemies" was their motto.

Blacks, insofar as they had voting rights, overwhelmingly voted Republican through the 1932 presidential election, when a majority of Blacks voted for Herbert Hoover, the Republican candidate, against Roosevelt, the Democratic standard-bearer. Their attachment was to the party of emancipation and radical reconstruction. The Democrats, who were politically dominant in the South, were seen as the party of segregation.

But this voting pattern began to shift as many workers who were Black were drawn into supporting Roosevelt's "New Deal" party.

The result of all this was that one of the two principal capitalist parties was seen by millions of working people as "their" party, as the party they believed would attempt to use government resources to help the poor, weak, and oppressed.

The coalition of labor officials, Black leaders, and liberals that came into the Democratic Party, however, were in a bloc with the southern segregationists and big city machines, which were powerful forces

in the party. This placed definite limits on how far labor officials would press civil rights for Blacks and organize workers into unions in the South.

The massive civil rights movement, which gained momentum in the 1950s and '60s, posed whether the Democrats would remain the party of southern segregationists or adopt a pro-civil rights stance. As it turned out, under the pressure of that movement, the party's liberalism proved stronger than its defense of Jim Crow racial segregation. It was a testimony to the massive power of the civil rights struggle.

From the early 1960s when John Kennedy declared his support for civil rights, a much bigger shift of Blacks voting Democratic took place. Democratic Party politicians sponsored civil rights legislation and in the 1960s, during Lyndon Johnson's administration, launched a program of social spending under the slogan of waging a "war on poverty."

Thus the civil rights struggle — a movement of revolutionary dimensions — was also channeled into the capitalist political framework.

Shift to bipartisan domestic policy

From its transformation in the 1930s until the late '70s, the Democratic Party's economic and social stance was different than the Republicans. Not on such basic matters as defending capitalist property, but on the use of government power and resources for social programs.

This was in contrast to foreign policy where bipartisanship has held sway since World War II. Disputes occur over specific tactical moves, and more Democratic legislators may line up on one side and more Republicans on the other in these conflicts. But on the basic policies for defending U.S. imperialist interests abroad, there's agreement. The Democratic Party is as much a war party as the Republican.

Since the deep worldwide recession in 1974-75, which signaled that a turn had been registered in the development of the international capitalist economy, the difference between the two capitalist parties on domestic policy has also been decreasing.

The long-term decrease of capital accumulation and the decline of the dollar as the result of intensifying price competition from capitalists in other countries has led both parties to adopt policies to make U.S. business more competitive. Restraining expenditures on social programs in a differential manner that hurts the working class the most is part of squeezing working people to bolster the capitalists' falling profit rates. Democrats, for example, joined with Republicans in slashing city budgets in the mid-1970s, which was the opening of "the assault on working people, and have continued to call for restraints on social spending."

Funds for federal programs where workers have to prove they need them — food stamps, Medicaid, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children — have taken the bulk of the cuts, rather than those benefits that are given regardless of need — Social Security and veterans' benefits. The most impoverished sections of the working class are consequently hit the hardest.

The framework for both the Democratic and Republican parties is making adjustments in tax and interest rates, bolstering the dollar, and balancing free trade and protectionist trade policies to get better advantage for U.S. capitalists. This bipartisanship has been the watchword of leading Democratic figures, such as James Carter, Walter Mondale, and Michael Dukakis, in the past decade.

How closely the two parties' domestic policies have converged is reflected in what the last session of Congress did. The *New York Times* accurately reported October 24 that several factors, especially the 1987 stock market crash, "drove the White House and Congressional leaders of both parties into an American version of a coalition Government." With a few exceptions, Republican President Ronald Reagan signed all the bills adopted by Congress,

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New York Stock Exchange. When next sharp recession hits, current two-party structural framework of capitalist politics will be unable to contain discontent and struggle by working people.

including the 13 spending bills. The spending proposals were in the framework of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget reduction legislation adopted with bipartisan approval in 1985.

Reagan used his veto prerogative very little, which is unusual for a president faced with a Senate and House dominated by members of the opposite party.

James Reston, senior columnist for the *New York Times*, pointed out recently that the Republicans and Democrats "have adjusted their policies and prejudices to a changing political and economic world, and have actually come closer to one another on major domestic and foreign policies than any other two major parties in any other modern nation in the world."

The race between Bush and Dukakis, where no significant difference in issues could be discerned, was living proof of this. In reality the two-party system has increasingly become a one-party setup. There is nothing in what Bush said during campaign or since his election to indicate that his administration plans to alter this. To the contrary, he has signaled that he is going to attempt to continue the close bipartisan relationship with the Democrats, who have increased their strength in both the Senate and the House in the November 8 elections.

Limits of bipartisan setup

In face of mounting discontent and opposition from working people that will be generated by an economic crisis, this framework will become less useful to the capitalist rulers. It will be unable to contain rising protest and will shatter. New forms will emerge, maybe even a multiplicity of capitalist parties.

Most workers and others who consider themselves socialists sense this is coming. We've all had our thinking and expectations shaken in some way by last year's stock market crash, and most are anticipating an economic crisis and a shake-up in capitalist politics.

Many groups and currents — including the Communist Party, the editors of the *Guardian* newspaper, Line of March, *Against the Current*, and left-wing supporters of *In These Times* — are converging around the perspective that a movement can be galvanized behind Jesse Jackson, a movement that can lead to the formation of a new progressive, or as some put it "people's," party. This is the objective of the Rainbow Coalition, which is the name that has come to be identified with this perspective.

The commitment to this course will be reinforced by Dukakis' defeat, which confirms the view of many with this perspective that Jackson's more traditional New Deal-type liberal stance would have been more effective against Bush. The narrowing of the margin between Dukakis and Bush in the last weeks of the campaign is attributed to Dukakis projecting himself more as a "liberal."

There are different estimations as to whether the goals of the Rainbow perspective will be achieved by taking over the Democratic Party or regrouping a party based on splitoffs from the Democrats.

Whichever evaluation proves to be a more accurate forecast of the evolution of capitalist politics, the main problem with the course outlined by Rainbow supporters, however, doesn't revolve around sup-

port or nonsupport to Democratic Party candidates.

The problem with the Rainbow isn't the Democratic Party, but the programs, trajectory, and class character of the Rainbow itself. Its perspective is rooted in the framework of capitalist politics, of trying to make the capitalist system work better for working people. In this context all the alternatives, including the most liberal ones, are traps — whether it's free trade versus protectionism; increased social spending versus the inflationary effects of an even more monstrous federal debt; massive drug addiction versus more police repression.

This framework can only lead to trying to get the best possible deal out of the disintegration of the capitalist political structures.

Working people, however, can't begin by orienting to the shake-up in the structuring of capitalist politics. We accept this as the inevitable consequence of an economic crisis and rising working-class battles. Likewise, we don't try to prop up the capitalist economic system as it disintegrates around us. We must accept that that will only lead to a dead end, to greater vulnerability and demoralization.

Our orientation has to be to mobilize around demands to fight for protection against the ravages of the economic and social crisis. Demands such as a shorter workweek to provide jobs for all, affirmative action quotas aimed at achieving real equality, and cancellation of the Third World debt can unite our forces at home

and internationally. It can strengthen our self-confidence and help us recognize our individual worth as human beings with the capacity to think and act.

This is a fighting perspective to unite working people in a worldwide movement to defend our most immediate interests today. But the capitalist rulers have no foreseeable road out of the coming economic and social crisis — neither colonization of new continents, opening of new lands, creation of massive new markets, or even armed conflicts to redivide the world among themselves.

This means that in defending ourselves against the ravages of the coming economic disaster and in pressing for political space to carry out our fight, the stakes will be high. And this defensive struggle organized around immediate and democratic demands will inevitably pass over to a struggle by working people to remove capitalist political rule and establish our own power — a government of the workers and farmers.

The alternative to the Rainbow is the revolutionary struggle of the working class and working farmers. Working people must chart our own course and not allow ourselves to be confined in the cage of capitalist politics. A repeat of the disaster that occurred in the 1930s must be avoided. The price then was the imperialist Second World War; World War III could bring the end of human civilization.

Today, the stakes are even higher than they were then. The relationship between

the imperialist creditors and semicolonial debtors makes working people in each sector more vulnerable to crises in the other.

Moreover, the economic evolution in the countries where capitalism has been overturned, as well as their increased trade links and loans from the capitalists, has made their economic fate more intertwined with the convulsions in the capitalist world.

This interconnection underlines the necessity of uniting working people internationally to fight against the capitalist exploiters and oppressors. This gives special importance to the politically advanced detachments of the working class in each country coming together — collaborating, learning from each other, and preparing for massive, united working-class action internationally.

Today, there is no massive social movement, strike wave, or working-class explosions in the United States. But there are plenty of opportunities, actually responsibilities, for the politically most farsighted workers to help lead the fight against assaults on our class. These range from attacks on abortion rights to police beatings of Black and Latino youth, from frame-ups of working class activists to harassment and deportations of immigrant workers.

Class-conscious activists become part of the strikes, protests, rallies, and other fights workers and farmers wage, from the paper mills in Maine to the canneries in California. The bonds between militant fighters across the country are welded more closely through their experiences in these fights.

Reaching out to, working with, and involving broader forces is key where united action is necessary to defend each other against Washington's wars of aggression, cop killings, and other assaults.

As a mass working-class movement is born in response to the coming economic crisis, it will face two roads. The Rainbow-type course will lead to the formation of an obstacle that will block the movement from politically advancing and acting in its own interests.

The other road is to prepare, inspire, and help lead the struggle toward a revolutionary upsurge.

Missouri auto workers fight job loss

BY JIM GARRISON

ST. LOUIS — After more than two weeks on strike, workers at Chrysler's St. Louis Assembly Plant 2 in nearby Fenton voted to return to work. The vote, held October 21, was 1,677 to 707.

Workers at Plant 2 also participated in heat walkouts last summer protesting the inhuman conditions that killed one worker and made many others ill.

The main issue in this strike was lack of protection from job losses due to outsourcing and contracting out of work currently done by United Auto Workers (UAW) members in the plant. The 3,270 members of UAW Local 110 began their strike October 5.

As the strike deadline approached, union officials asserted that Chrysler intended to contract out janitorial services in the plant and eliminate material handling and some skilled-trades jobs. Workers were also concerned that a variety of sub-assembly jobs would be transferred or "outsourced" to other companies. Some 400 to 600 members of Local 110 could lose their jobs if these plans are implemented.

Job protection became the workers' central concern as the strike deadline neared. Bargainers for Local 110 tried to address the issue of outsourcing in the negotiations. Chrysler, however, refused to respond, claiming the matter could only be dealt with in the national contract.

When the UAW International representatives endorsed the company's position, union demands relating to outsourcing were formally withdrawn hours before the strike began.

Widespread frustration over this course of events was registered at an October 9 local meeting, called to discuss and vote on a tentative settlement reached on the third day of the walkout.

Following a presentation on the proposed settlement, local members fired questions and comments at union officials. They demanded to know what would be done to protect their jobs and vowed to reject any contract that did not address outsourcing. Balloting opened during the question session.

The atmosphere became so heated that voting procedures began to break down. Some workers proved this by telling the meeting that they had been able to vote more than once. There was wide support for invalidating the vote. At one point, hundreds of copies of the proposal were thrown in the air. The agreement was rejected by a vote of 792 to 540.

A new vote was ordered by UAW Region 5. This vote, which was conducted without a mass meeting, resulted in another rejection by a vote of 1,197 to 1,156.

Immediately following the second vote, Chrysler went to court to seek an injunction to force an end to the strike. At the same time, the company express-mailed a letter to the homes of each Local 110 member in which it described the strike as "improper."

The letter went on to urge each member to "support your union, in helping them to bring an end to the strike."

Although Chrysler was unable to get an immediate injunction, on October 18 Judge Clyde Cahill agreed with the company's assertion that the outsourcing issue could

not be addressed in local negotiations. Cahill threatened to take action if the strike was not resolved soon.

Two days later, the UAW announced it had reached a new tentative agreement. At the news conference announcing the pact, newly installed UAW Region 5 Director Jerry Tucker called on the members of Local 110 to "respect the judgement of your leadership" in voting for the contract. He went on to say that the issue of outsourcing would be a central question for national negotiations in 1990. Although many members wanted to press the issue of outsourcing by continuing the strike, a large majority believed that they had taken the dispute as far as they could under the circumstances. The final contract was essentially the same as the one originally rejected.

Meanwhile, some 500 workers at the General Motors assembly plant in nearby Wentzville rallied inside their plant to protest outsourcing, line speedup, and the suspension of workers protesting job conditions. The October 14 rally also expressed support for the Chrysler strikers.

This show of solidarity came in for criticism from union officials at the GM plant. Joe Henry, head of bargaining for UAW Local 2250 at the Wentzville plant, told the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "We don't have those problems here. They're sending the wrong message to our customers. Our workers are proud of what they're doing."

Jim Garrison is a member of UAW Local 110 at Chrysler's assembly plant in Fenton.

'Photo of Mark's beaten face posted in community'

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is in jail on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international protest campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. To contact the committee, write Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

Dave Campbell, president of United Steelworkers of America Local 6500 in Sudbury, Ontario, wrote to Polk County Attorney James Smith on October 6. "Sud-

signatures from members, while the local president took several blank petitions to circulate inside during the meeting. Signatures have also been collected at the Stelco mill in Hamilton, Ontario, which the local organizes. So far, 60 workers have signed up.

"On behalf of the 8,080 members of Local Union 1005," wrote Recording Secretary Ed Sutherland to Des Moines Police Chief William Moulder, "I express extreme concern in the circumstances surrounding the arrest of Mark Curtis."

"I find it deplorable," he said,

tions taken by our employer in his efforts to crush our union local," they wrote. "We demand freedom and justice for Mark Curtis!"

United Auto Workers Local 879 at the Twin Cities Ford Assembly plant in Minnesota voted to donate \$300 to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee at its September membership meeting. About 40 local members have signed Curtis petitions.

Ten signatures in support of Curtis were collected in Frankfurt, West Germany, in September. Nine of those were from union members attending a meeting of the trade union youth committee for solidarity with Nicaragua. They included members of the public employees' union; industrial union of printing and paperworkers; commercial, bank, and insurance workers' union, and the teachers' union.

Socialist Action, a U.S. group based in San Francisco, ran a back-page feature on the Curtis case in the October 1988 issue of their monthly paper, *Socialist Action*.

In a letter to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Nat Weinstein and Jeff Mackler, co-national secretaries of Socialist Action, wrote:

"The frame-up of Mark Curtis, a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party, is an outrageous and ominous attack on the civil liberties of everyone, especially those in the workers' movement and others fighting against capitalist exploitation, oppression, and injustice.

"The Political Committee of Socialist Action wants you to know that our party stands ready to do what we can to help fight this latest offense against democratic rights. We are ready to help in the defense of Mark Curtis in any way we can, within the limits of our modest resources."

Lee Slaughter is a nurse who has been active in defending abortion clinics in Atlanta against "Operation Rescue," a right-wing group that tries to prevent women from obtaining abortions. Together with her husband Ron, she has gotten nearly 80 letters signed and sent to Polk County Attorney Smith.

In a letter she wrote to Curtis at the Marion County Jail in Knoxville, Iowa, Slaughter said, "This is not about putting rape criminals in jail, this is about frame-ups and illegal police activities."

"The attached petition and list of names being submitted on behalf of Texas Prisoners, some of who are political, is in protest to the ongoing prosecution of Mark

Curtis." So began a letter to Smith signed by Eliberto Reyna, a prisoner in Huntsville, Texas.

"We who have fallen victims to the judicial system and identical tactics being utilized in Mr. Curtis's case," and have suffered years of "unjust confinements, convictions that were obtained through perjured facts, instruments, and trumped-up charges," identify the obvious railroad job in Mark's case, he continued. Reyna is the minister of education for the Prisoners United for Revolutionary Education.

Fourteen unionists who are assembly-line workers at Delta's electrical-parts factory in Oldham in North West England, sent a letter to Curtis.

"We know in Britain the courts are used to victimize working people when we fight for our rights and how Black people in Britain's cities are especially attacked by the police. We know, too, about your fight for the rights of working people and your fight alongside Black people and immigrant workers in the United States against racism.

"We know that the struggle of working people in the United States is the same struggle as ours in Britain and that 'an injury to one is an injury to all.'"

Beverly Bernardo, Joe Callahan, and Kate Daher contributed to this column.

DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

bury, a city located in Northern Ontario, Canada, has been made aware of the conviction and the circumstances surrounding the arrest of Mark Curtis," he wrote.

"On behalf of the 6,000 members of Local 6500, USWA, we show our support for the reopening of Mark's case," he continued. "Photos of Mark's beaten face are being posted in our community as questions of Des Moines' justice system are in question." Campbell sent copies of the letter to the U.S. embassy and Department of External Affairs, in Ottawa.

At its September meeting, USWA Local 1005, the largest basic-steel local in Canada, passed a resolution supporting the Curtis defense effort. Curtis supporters collected

"that a miscarriage of justice of this magnitude can take place in the United States, the 'Bastion of Democracy and Liberty' in 1988."

At the recent Canadian conference of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, 38 delegates signed Curtis petitions, including International Vice-president Arthur Loevy, who is also president of the Chicago Joint Board of ACTWU.

In High Point, North Carolina, the president and vice-president of ACTWU Local 2376 sent a protest message to James Smith. "We understand frame-ups. Many of us have faced, and continue to face unjust firings and disciplinary ac-

Marroquín to begin national tour to defend Curtis

BY JOHN STUDER

DES MOINES, Iowa — As new supporters across the country signed up to oppose the frame-up and jailing of Mark Curtis, Héctor Marroquín prepared to open a national speaking tour to defend the jailed Iowa unionist and political activist.

In Sioux Falls, South Dakota, union officials allowed Curtis supporters to set up an information table at the local Labor Temple, where workers from the John Morrell meat-packing plant were receiving benefits related to a recently concluded strike. Fifty-eight members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 304A signed petitions against the frame-up, and seven more signed up when Curtis' defenders handed out leaflets at the entrance to the Morrell plant.

At the Gainers meat-packing plant in Edmonton in Canada's Alberta Province, 78 meat-packers were signed up on petitions backing Curtis.

Curtis attorney files request for new trial

A motion requesting a new trial for Mark Curtis was filed November 9 with the Iowa District Court for Polk County by Mark Pennington, Curtis' attorney.

The motion contests a number of rulings by the trial judge, Harry Perkins. Perkins, the motion points out, barred the defense from submitting evidence concerning various matters, including the fact that police officer Joseph Gonzalez, a key prosecution witness, had previously been suspended for lying about police activities.

The brief also cites the judge's dismissal of the only Mexican-American juror. The court refused, however, to take action concerning two jurors — one who indicated he was convinced of Curtis' guilt before the defense was presented, and another charged with possible misconduct during the trial.

The text of the brief filed on Curtis' behalf will be carried in next week's issue of the *Militant*.

The national speaking tour for Marroquín will kick off November 12 in Omaha, Nebraska, where he will speak at a fund-raiser to benefit Salvadoran refugees.

Marroquín, who came to this country from Mexico in 1974, won wide support during his 11-year battle for the right to live and work in the United States. For a decade, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) attempted unsuccessfully to deport Marroquín because of his political activities and membership in the Socialist Workers Party. He was granted permanent resident status on September 20.

Will urge supporters to help

During his tour, Marroquín will urge those who supported his fight to throw their efforts into winning freedom for Curtis. Curtis was framed up after he became involved in a fight to defend 17 of his co-workers at the Swift meat-packing plant — 16 Mexicans and a Salvadoran — who had been arrested in an INS raid and threatened with deportation.

Curtis is in jail following a guilty verdict on sexual abuse and burglary charges handed down by an all-white jury in Des Moines September 14. The verdict concluded a trial in which important defense evidence was barred.

On November 13 a rally featuring Marroquín will be held at 3:00 p.m. at the Chicano Awareness Center in Omaha.

Daniel Cobos will also speak at this meeting. While in the air force, Cobos, a Mexican-American, won conscientious objector status after refusing to fly secret spy missions over Nicaragua.

Mexican American Center

Marroquín will then visit Des Moines, where a meeting will be held at the United Mexican American Cultural Center at 2:00 p.m. on November 19.

In addition to Marroquín, speakers will include Alfredo Alvarez, chairman of the Des Moines Human Rights Commission; Amelia Ibañez Ochoa, one of those who helped organize the defense of the Swift 17; Dolores Perales, a Swift worker active in defense of immigrant rights; Rudy Simms of the National Conference of Christians and Jews; and others.

The United Mexican American Cultural

Center served as the organizing center for protests against the arrests of the Swift 17.

In mid-October Marroquín spoke on his and Curtis' case at several meetings in Milwaukee. These included a public meeting and later a Sunday mass at St. Patrick's Church in the city's Spanish-speaking community.

Johnny Imani Harris, a Black activist imprisoned on frame-up charges in Alabama, is one of the recent endorsers of the fight against the frame-up. So is Michael Parenti, author of *Inventing Reality: The Politics of the Mass Media*. Pete Kelly, president of United Auto Workers Local 160 in Detroit, has written a letter supporting Curtis.

Three officers of UAW Local 270 in Des Moines have also thrown their support behind Curtis. The are: Samuel Downey, president; Harold Ruggless, vice-president; and John Kufner, financial secretary.

Other new endorsers include Ernest Mandel of the Free University of Brussels; Alain Krivine of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire of France; Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, prominent opponent of British rule in Northern Ireland; Byron W. Charlton, assistant to the executive director, African-American Labor Center, AFL-CIO, in Washington, D.C.; and Abe Morochnik, chief steward of Service Employees International Union Local 509 in Boston.

Nicaragua's North Atlantic region

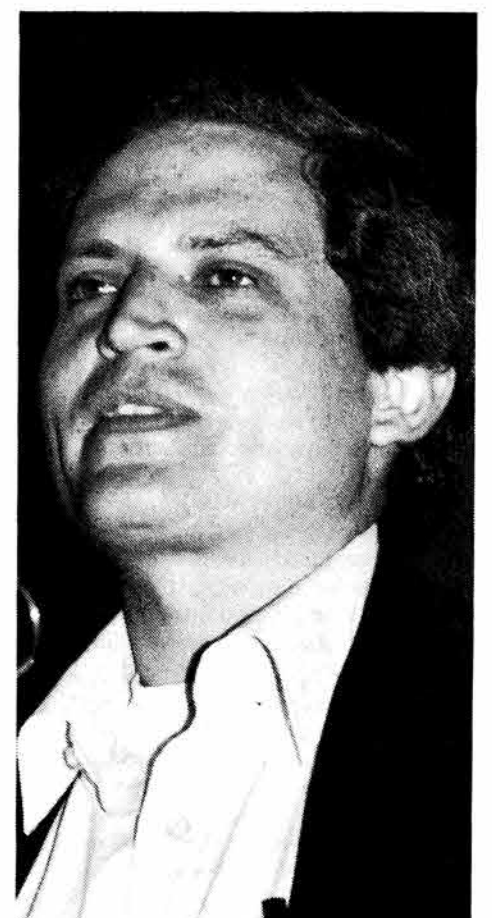
Continued from Page 5

FSLN to open up a dialogue and stop the fighting.

"Furthermore, we knew from experience," she said, "that the Sandinistas were not bad like the contra propaganda said. The contras said the vaccination programs would kill our children, but we saw that was a lie. We saw the Sandinistas were concerned with providing health care and education.

"We were in contact with the Miskito combatants all along," Morley added. "They were our relatives. We'd talk with our boys, and they would go back to their group and talk it over with the others."

Hazel Lau was one MISURASATA lead-



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Héctor Marroquín

er who did not leave Nicaragua. In her view, the early differences between MISURASATA and the Sandinista government "were not antagonistic." The demands raised by MISURASATA could have been negotiated "if the FSLN or the government had understood, had discussed them," she told *Envío*.

Lau felt the FSLN had to change its policy towards the Indians if it was to win their support and bring an end to the fighting. During 1982 and 1983, she and some other coast figures began talking with government leaders, urging them to reconsider their policies and seek talks with some of the armed groups.

(Next week: Sandinistas back autonomy)

Unionists, farmers become Curtis' most outspoken supporters

BY MARGARET JAYKO
(Seventh of a series)

DES MOINES, Iowa — The first news conference Mark Curtis held to tell the truth about his frame-up on rape charges and his beating at the hands of the cops attracted some 50 people. They also attended the meeting afterward to form a Mark Curtis Defense Committee. The participation reflected the initial outrage over what had happened and the desire to do something. Right from the beginning, unionists and farmers were among Curtis' most outspoken supporters.

"The brutal attack on Mark Curtis is an attempt to kill free speech and stifle protest against racism," said Russell Woodrick,

The Mark Curtis Story



business agent of District 134 of the International Association of Machinists in Waterloo, Iowa.

Bill Cook, a packinghouse worker from Austin, Minnesota, called on others to "demand the frame-up charges be dropped."

Carroll Nearmeyer, Iowa president of the American Agriculture Movement, wrote, "As a citizen of the U.S. and a farmer who's very concerned about the common people of the world being pushed around by the governments of the world, the establishment, and police, we have to stand together and fight back."

Midge Slatter, vice-president of a Communications Workers of America local in the area, said, "As a unionist I see the attack against Mark as part of Reagan's assault against trade unions. And as a feminist I am outraged that the police victimize an innocent man and largely ignore the real perpetrators of the serious crime of rape."

Kate Kaku, who works at the Oscar Mayer meat-packing plant in Perry, Iowa, and is Curtis' wife, announced that 34 of her coworkers had signed a petition demanding the frame-up charges be dropped and protesting the brutalization of Curtis.

Swift workers show support

Also on hand were a half dozen of Curtis' coworkers from the Swift meat-packing plant here, including one of the workers arrested in the March 1 Immigration and Naturalization Service raid at the plant.

Pat Kearns, a student at the University of Iowa, in Iowa City, spoke at the press conference. Kearns expressed his solidarity with Curtis on behalf of himself and 17 other students. They had been acquitted the day before on criminal trespass charges stemming from a protest against CIA recruiting on campus.

Curtis' parents, Jane and Stan, sent a message to the meeting from Santa Fe, New Mexico, that said, "No one can afford to allow injustice of this nature to be carried out. Your support is needed. Please re-

Mark Curtis is a packinghouse worker, unionist, and political activist in Des Moines, Iowa. On Sept. 14, 1988, he was convicted on sexual abuse and burglary charges, and is currently being held in the Marion County Jail. He is scheduled to be sentenced on November 18.

Unionists, farmers, and youth around the world recognize that Curtis is one of those workers who are starting to stand up and fight back against the employers and their government. In their thousands, working people are beginning to join the fight for justice for Curtis.

The Mark Curtis Story is a multipart series that describes what happened to Curtis, where it fits into the class struggle, and the big stakes for working people in the fight against this frame-up.

gister your protest against this and keep registering your protest until this injustice has been stopped."

After the press conference, Norm Jensen, an anti-apartheid activist, encouraged others to sign petitions and contribute money to help promote the campaign in defense of Curtis. Forty people signed petitions and more than \$500 was collected.

Supporters decided to launch a defense committee as Curtis had proposed. Several meat-packing workers, including the one arrested in the Swift raid, requested petitions to circulate on the job. The Central America Solidarity Committee in Iowa City agreed to send out information about the case in a 150-piece mailing.

In the April 1 *Militant*, which reported on the March 19 news conference, the first of what would be many editorials was run outlining the stakes for working people in the fight for justice for Curtis.

"A nationwide defense effort is needed," it began. "The attack on Curtis is an example of what the employing class has in store for more and more young working people as the economic conditions in this country worsen, the social crisis deepens, and Washington increasingly uses its military might to crush just struggles around the world."

"The employers and their government will not stop at using brute force and outrageous frame-ups to target those who dare to exercise their constitutional right to publicly speak out and organize in defense of working people and against the rulers' war and repression."

"The goal in victimizing Curtis is to make every antiwar activist, every anti-racist fighter, every militant unionist, think twice before they publicly say and act on what they believe in."

"Justice for Mark Curtis would be a blow to cop brutality and frame-ups and would encourage political activists to use their rights to fight war, racism, and exploitation."

The editorial put Curtis' frame-up in the broader context of the increasing resistance by a layer of working people around the world to the rulers' offensive.

"When the cops were beating Curtis at the station house, it wasn't because they thought he was a rapist, which is what they have charged him with, or because they care about defending women against violence. It's because of who Curtis is — an outspoken fighter against war and for Black rights, immigrant rights, and workers' rights."

"To the cops, his crime is that he's a 'Mexican-lover' and speaks Spanish."

"It's this record, it's because he's part of the international working-class resistance to the rulers' offensive, that he was framed up on phony rape charges."

Marroquín: two fights, same issues

On March 24 Héctor Marroquín went to Des Moines to express solidarity with Curtis and with the 17 immigrant workers arrested at Swift, as well as to win support for his own decade-long fight for the right to live and work in the United States. Marroquín was born in Mexico, and is a National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party. The immigration cops — *la migra* — had been trying to deport him for his political activity and communist views.

I talked with him on October 4 in New York. He has since moved to Des Moines so that he could be more centrally involved in the fight to defend Curtis.

Marroquín said that the fundamental issues in his own fight for a permanent residence visa — which he finally secured on September 20 — were exactly the same as the issues in the Curtis case. They both were victimized because they were fighters for equal rights for all working people, including the undocumented, as part of the effort to unify working people in the face of attacks by the employers and government.

"I went to a meeting of those involved in the Swift 17 defense when I was in Des Moines in March," recalled Marroquín,



Militant/Stu Singer
Shortly after the Mark Curtis Defense Committee was formed in March this year, Curtis (in white sweater), his wife Kate Kaku, and Héctor Marroquín (left) petitioned for support among Curtis' coworkers at Swift meat-packing plant.

looking at his pocket calendar book to refresh his memory. "There were 15 people, roughly, and we met in Guadalupe Church." Curtis and other supporters of his defense effort also attended.

Three days after the March 1 immigration raid at Swift, several Mexican workers had walked off the job to protest company attempts to prevent them from going to a community meeting that afternoon to protest the raid. Another meeting was scheduled for later in the day so that workers on the kill-floor, including Curtis, could participate. On March 12, some 200 people marched in Des Moines to condemn the arrests.

Participants at the meeting Marroquín attended discussed how to proceed in the campaign to defend the Swift 17. Some advocated fighting the case publicly and reaching out to the broadest forces possible for support.

"Using the victories in my case as an example," Marroquín said, "Mark raised reaching out to the unions with this fight as well. It's been through an all-inclusive public defense effort that had a big component of labor support that we defeated every government attempt to deport me — and have gotten my permanent residence visa."

"Many workers at the meeting liked these ideas," said Marroquín. "But there were some hesitations. Some had been told by their lawyers to stay quiet. A Chicana worker responded that they would never win justice by being quiet. The only way you win rights, she said, is by standing up and fighting for them."

Marroquín also went with Curtis to talk to Swift workers outside the plant during a shift change. Many of the Mexicans he talked to saw Curtis as "someone who was victimized because he fought to unify the work force. They respected him." Some Mexican workers, said Marroquín, petitioned for Curtis inside the plant.

While he was at the entrance, a Swift personnel manager came up to Marroquín

and said, "How are you doing, Héctor?" This was one measure, said Marroquín, of the concern with which Swift was watching this developing unity and fightback among its employees.

On March 25 Marroquín had dinner at Curtis' house with several Swift workers who are Chicano and Mexican. They had a lot of horror stories about the health and safety dangers in the meat-packing industry. "Their attitude," said Marroquín, "tended to be, 'We are immigrants and we're here to stay. We have rights, too.' One guy said that if they weren't going to ask the Anglo guy working next to him for his papers, 'They better not ask me for mine.'"

Like other people who initially supported Curtis, political pressure was put on many of the Swift workers, especially those who had been arrested, to back off on public activities to protest the arrest of the 17 and on support for Curtis. The pressure had an impact, said Marroquín. "But I intend to reknit my acquaintances with people I met before, and talk to them about the importance of supporting the fight for justice for Mark Curtis."

On March 26 Marroquín sent a protest letter to Des Moines Police Chief William Moulder. "As a Mexican-born worker who has been fighting against the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) for my right to live and work in this country," wrote Marroquín, "I am particularly outraged at the police reference to Mark as a 'Mexican-lover.'"

Marroquín continued, "If his support for the rights of Mexicans and other immigrants qualifies him as a 'Mexican-lover' and target for a brutal beating by the police, it definitely has won him the deepest respect and admiration of many immigrants and other working people for his dedicated commitment to this part of the struggle against racist and political discrimination."

(To be continued)

How you can help

● **Raise money.** The Mark Curtis Defense Committee needs to raise \$60,000 by December 31 in order to cover the expenses of the defense effort. Funds are urgently needed right away. More than 1,000 people have donated money to the defense effort to date.

Contributions should be sent to the Des Moines defense committee. (Checks for large tax-deductible contributions may be made out to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc.)

● **Get out the truth.** A combined petition and fact sheet, with excerpts from messages protesting Curtis' conviction on sexual abuse and burglary charges, are available.

Buttons that read, "Justice for Mark

Curtis! An Injury to One Is an Injury to All!" can be gotten from the committee for \$1 each.

Representatives of the defense committee are available to speak at meetings.

● **Endorse the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.** Send your name and how you'd like to be identified to the committee.

● **Write to Mark Curtis.** His address is Marion County Jail, Knoxville, Iowa 50138. Copies of the letters should be sent to the Des Moines defense committee.

Contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee at Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

"Response to the South African Escalation." Cuban TV documentary. Sat., Nov. 19, 6 p.m. UAB, University Center (Great Hall). Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Pathfinder Books, Southern Regional Africa Peace Coordinating Network, First World Imports. For more information call (205) 781-4109.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Celebrate the Publication of *Thomas Sankara Speaks*. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Nov. 19. Reception 6:30 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (at Mission). For more information call (415) 282-6255.

Support the Farm Workers. March with Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta. Join picket line and rally. Sat., Nov. 19. Assemble 11 a.m. Hawthorne School yard (Folsom St. between 22nd St. and 23rd St. near 24th St. BART station). March at noon through Mission and Castro districts. Rally 1 p.m. at Safeway on Church and Market. Sponsor: United Farm Workers of America, Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice. For more information call (415) 626-8053.

FLORIDA

Miami

Labor Report from West Bank and Gaza. Speaker: Bill Rayson, member American Postal Workers Union, part of U.S. labor delegation to West Bank and Gaza sponsored by American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; others. Sat., Nov. 19, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Cuban TV Documentary on Turning Point in the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa. Introduced by Nomshe Gcababhe, representative of African National Congress of South Africa. Sat., Nov. 12. Reception 6 p.m.; video 6:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Pathfinder Fund Rally: Celebrate Publication of *Thomas Sankara Speaks*. Speaker: John Riddell, editor Pathfinder publishers. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 12, 6 p.m. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Pathfinder Books. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

IOWA

Des Moines

Grenada: Five Years After the Overthrow of the Revolution. Speaker: Jackie Floyd, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers union Local 49, visited Grenada in April 1983. Sat., Nov. 12, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

International Aid for Nicaragua. A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 19. Dinner 6 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2, dinner \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Our Environment: Can It Be Saved? Speakers: Erik Johnson, Greenpeace; Nancy Oden, coordinator Clear Water Coalition, Washington County, Maine; Gary Cohen, Socialist Workers Party; representative of Clam Shell Alliance. Sun., Nov. 20, 7 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Pathfinder Publications Fund Meeting: Celebration of the Book *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*. Speakers: Michael Baumann, editor of Pathfinder publishers; Mike Guinyard, Young Socialist Alliance, member United Food and Commercial Workers union; Ivette Perfecto, member Puerto Rican Solidarity Organization, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, visited Cuba in summer 1988; Tom Hansen, co-coordinator of Pastors for Peace. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 19, 7 p.m., reception to follow. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Role of Revolutionary Leadership in Africa's Liberation. Weekly discussion group on developments in Burkina Faso, South Africa, and Angola. Two sessions, 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. every Monday for seven weeks beginning November 7. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Justice for Mark Curtis: An Injury to One is an Injury to All! Hear Paul Curtis tell the full story of the frame-up of his brother. Find out about the international campaign for justice for Mark Curtis and how you can be a part of it. Wed., Nov. 16, 6 p.m. CSU 201, Mankato State University. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Nuclear Weapons Are Already Killing Us! Representatives of Northern Sun Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 19, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Grand Opening of the New Pathfinder Books: Celebrate the Publication of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*. Speakers: Michael Baumann, editor Pathfinder publishers; José Silva, trade unionist from El Salvador; Emily Vardaman, staff person for Central America Solidarity Coalition; Leonard Peltier Defense Committee representative; James Shumate, Kansas City Art Institute; Steve Marshall, member United Transportation Union and director of Pathfinder Books. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 20, 6 p.m. 5534 Troost. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Pathfinder. For more information call (816) 444-7880.

NEBRASKA

Lincoln

"Response to the South African Escalation," Cuban documentary on defeat of South African troops in Angola. Speaker: Aaron Ruby, Young Socialist Alliance. Tues., Nov. 15, 7 p.m. University of Nebraska, Student Union Building. Donations accepted. Sponsor: Early Warning, Latin American Solidarity Committee, Young

Socialist Alliance. For more information call (402) 464-9218 or 553-0245.

OMAHA

Victory Rally for Héctor Marroquín. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Mexican-born leader Socialist Workers Party; Daniel Cobos, conscientious objector; Rita Melgares, Kiko Martínez Defense Committee; Doug Lee Regier, Nebraskans for Peace; Talonia, Youth for Peace; Clemens Namwira, South West Africa People's Organisation; Mark Befort, Catholic Hispanic Ministry; Hilda Cuzco, International Union of Electronic workers Local 18B. Sun., Nov. 13, 3 p.m. Chicano Awareness Center, 4825 S 24th St. Donations accepted. Sponsor: Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Pathfinder Publications Fund Rally. Speakers: Norton Sandler, Pathfinder publishers; Wilton de Coteau, New York representative of Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement; others. Sat., Nov. 19, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Pathfinder Books. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Nuclear Weapons Plant Disasters: 40-year Government Cover-up. Sun., Nov. 20, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

Cuba, Angola, and the Defeat of the South African Army. Showing of Cuban TV documentary "Response to the South African Escalation." Sat., Nov. 12, 6:30 p.m. Cleveland State University, Main Classroom Building, Room 201, E 22 St. and Euclid. Donation: \$2. Sponsors: Organization for Afro-American Unity, CSU; Pathfinder Books. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

OREGON

Portland

Can Protectionism Save Jobs? A Canadian Woodworker Discusses the Free Trade Issue. Speaker: Fred Nelson, member International Woodworkers of America-Canada Local 1-357, New Westminster, British Columbia. Sat., Nov. 19, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Cuba and Angola: "Response to the South African Escalation." Showing of Cuban TV documentary on defeat of South African troops in Angola. Fri., Nov. 18, 7 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Sponsors: Afro-American Studies Dept. at Temple University and Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

Pittsburgh

Disaster at Nuclear Weapons Plants. Speaker: representative of Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Nov. 12, 7:30 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave., Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Houston

Celebration of Pathfinder Publications. Fea-

turing the new book *Thomas Sankara Speaks*. Speakers: John Riddell, editor of the series the *Communist International in Lenin's Time*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 19, 7:30 p.m. Two classes: 1. on *Thomas Sankara Speaks*, Sat., Nov. 19, 3:30 p.m. 2. on *Communist International in Lenin's Time*, Sun., Nov. 20, 11 a.m. Donation: \$1.50 per class. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Massive Worldwide Aid Needed for Nicaragua. Panel discussion. Sat., Nov. 12, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Cuba and Angola. Showing of Cuban TV documentary "Response to the South African Escalation." In English and Spanish. Fri., Nov. 18, 7 p.m. American University, Kay Chapel. Donation: \$5, proceeds go to Nicaragua hurricane relief fund. Sponsors: American University Chaplain's Office, Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

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Charleston

Glasnost and Perestroika: The Soviet Union Today. Speaker: Cecelia Moriarity, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 19, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

What the 1988 Elections Mean for Working People. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; Dick McBride, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Nov. 12, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

BRITAIN

London

Aid Nicaragua Now! Eyewitness report of the hurricane damage from a solidarity activist; Julio Ricardo, Sandinista National Liberation Front. Fri., Nov. 18, 7:30 p.m. Pathfinder Bookshop, 47 The Cut, London SE 1; Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forum.

Cuba and Angola: "Response to the South African Escalation." First time in Britain, a showing of the 3-hour Cuban documentary video. In English and Spanish. Sat., Nov. 19, 7:30 p.m., followed by social. Pathfinder Bookshop, 47 The Cut, London SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forum.

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Angola and Cuba. Showing of Cuban TV documentary "Response to the South African Escalation." Sun., Nov. 13, 1 p.m. Donation: \$5. 4274 Papineau, Suite 302. For more information call (514) 524-7992.

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Lubicon Cree Natives Win Battle for Land Rights. Eyewitness report. Speaker: Roger Annis, one of 27 protesters arrested at Lubicon blockade at Little Buffalo, Alberta. Sat., Nov. 12, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Socialist Voice Forum. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

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Stockholm: P.O. Box 5024, S-12505 Älvsjö. Tel: (08) 722-9342.

Nobody got rich by giving — A student found that families with incomes under \$10,000 give an average of 2.8 percent to charity. In the \$100,000 and over bracket,



Harry Ring

it was 2.1 percent. "Contrary to popular opinion," grouched one corporate fund-raiser, "the well-to-do in America cannot be described as generous."

A whip and a prayer — Some recent workshops for Greensboro, North Carolina, businessfolk: "How to Put 10 Hours in Your Eight-Hour Day," "How to Handle Employee Anger and Emotions," "R for Union-Avoidance," plus, "Leadership Prayer Breakfast."

Another shoe freak? — "I taught Imelda how to shop." — Tobacco heiress Doris Duke, who plunked down \$5 million bail to keep her old friend out of the slammer.

He must be something else — Imelda Marcos says her favorite English painter is Francis Bacon,

who emphasizes the gruesome. "The ugliness of his work," she said, "makes you realize how beautiful you and your life are."

Not to worry — The British government disclosed that eels may be a health hazard. In 31 rivers, they contained heavy levels of dieldrin, a pesticide linked to birth defects, nerve damage, and liver cancer. An official assured, though, that not many people eat large amounts of eel.

Enjoy — A London check of fast foods found an 8-oz. hamburger may include two ounces of pure fat, plus sugar, monosodium

glutamate, coal-tar dye, and other goodies.

The morality gang — Robert Showers, director of the Justice Department's National Obscenity Enforcement Unit, is under criminal investigation for juggling plane trips so that he could attend meetings of various right-wing Christian groups at public expense.

Of course — Kansas Gov. Michael Hayden was surprised to learn that a bill he signed will up his pension 44 percent. He said he thought the measure only applied to members of the legislature.

A matter of priorities — Dr. Jo

Ivey Boufford, recently appointed chief of New York City hospitals, may not be doing much about the miserable quality of medical care, but she is taking care of business. An early act was to appoint a \$950-a-day "communications consultant" to clue her in on speechmaking and dealing with the media.

Let the kid sit in style — A pint-sized Chippendale-type chair. \$249.99.

You can go on a surgery spree — Blue Cross/Blue Shield of Maryland has introduced a credit card for use when paying for health care not covered by insurance.

Cuba's aid to Nicaraguan victims sets example

Continued from front page

school, health center, and church to go with the new houses.

In addition, Havana will donate materials for key government buildings in the port, the heavy machinery needed for the housing construction, several large tank trucks for transporting drinking water, electric generators, and other emergency supplies.

This major new reconstruction aid package is in addition to the food, clothing, and medicines the Cuban government has already been shipping.

In another development, the Nicaraguan government announced November 4 that it will offer special credit measures to farmers whose crops were lost in the hurricane. Farmers in areas most severely affected by the storm will be granted a reduction in interest rates on all outstanding bank loans to a flat 5 percent per month. The 5 percent interest rate is strictly symbolic, since inflation is currently running at a far higher rate.

The farmers were also given extensions of repayment of loans and long-term credits for replacing agricultural equipment and tools.

Producers of basic food grains will receive 100 percent bank financing of the next crop instead of the normal 80 percent. Also, the interest rates they pay will be cut in half. These policies apply to all farmers who grow rice, beans, and corn, regardless of the hurricane's effect on them. Most of the production of these essential food crops is in the hands of small farmers and agricultural cooperatives.

"We agree with the concept of the measures and with the willingness they represent on the part of the government to continue financing agricultural production," commented Bryon Corrales, organization secretary of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), in an interview with the *Militant*. "But," he added, "the measures themselves will not solve the farmers' problems."

A big portion of the government's budget goes to defense costs, Corrales pointed out, severely limiting the amount that can be invested to help farmers. As long as the threat of U.S. aggression persists, he said, this will be the case.

"The problem of the hurricane can't be solved strictly on the national level. Nicaragua doesn't have a national budget that can cope with emergencies," he said.

"Repairing the damage is not that easy to do," Corrales pointed out, referring to the destruction of roads, bridges, and agricultural processing and storage facilities.

"What is needed is international solidarity with our agricultural producers. We are

hoping for international aid, for people in other countries to share the sacrifices and difficulties our farmers face."

Francisco Gómez, regional president of UNAG in the region around Managua, said that the special bank financing measures are similar to proposals made earlier by UNAG.

"But whenever there are special measures taken for any one sector," Gómez told the *Militant*, "we know they restrict others. Other sectors of production — industry, for example — aren't going to get as much support from the government."

"What is needed are investments of additional capital," Gómez said. "We need to generate more foreign exchange. That's why bringing in the maximum coffee harvest is such a priority."

The coffee harvest, which is now start-

ing, provides Nicaragua's major source of foreign exchange. UNAG, like all the mass organizations here, is organizing special brigades to help cut coffee.

"There must also be a display of solidarity from other peoples and governments," Gómez continued. "Up to now, the main show of solidarity has been in the form of food and medicine. We also need help in reconstruction."

Demand cost-of-living allowance

Meanwhile, the Sandinista-led trade unions have decided to continue to press a proposal they have made to the government for a minimum wage with a cost-of-living allowance for all workers.

Under the proposal, the minimum wage would be pegged to the cost of a "market

basket" of 29 basic food and other items. It would be adjusted monthly. Real wages have been falling for some time, and even when raises are granted, they lag behind the soaring rate of inflation.

"We realize we are in a new economic situation," as a result of the hurricane, said Ronaldo Membreno, a member of the National Executive Committee of the Sandinista Workers Federation, "but wages should be adjusted to the rate of inflation."

"We need a wage policy that corresponds to the economic conditions the hurricane left us with," he continued. "Maybe the market basket should include only 20 products, not 29, but what we want is simply to discuss these ideas with the government so as to respond to the workers as quickly as possible."

Oscar Coover, Jr: communist for 50 years

Continued from Page 4

over 100 members. But with a level of activity, he remembered, that was far lower than today's."

Coover worked at a variety of construction jobs until 1961, when his carpentry skills enabled him to land a job as a set-builder in a Hollywood studio. Until his retirement in 1983, he worked in every studio except Walt Disney.

The episodic nature of studio work (with often months-long breaks between productions) enabled him to both maintain a relatively secure income and devote much time to political work. For most of the period between his arrival in Los Angeles and the late 1960s he was organizer of the SWP branch here.

He was elected to the SWP National Committee in 1961, and remained a member until 1973, when he declined to stand for reelection in order to make way for younger leaders.

As a party leader in Los Angeles, Coover played a major role in taking advantage of some opportunities that arose in the late 1950s to work with forces in and around the Communist Party who were shaken up by Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's revelations of some of Joseph Stalin's crimes and by the Soviet invasion of Hungary. Several CP members in Los Angeles left that party to join the SWP.

Coover led the SWP in rallying support for the civil rights movement that emerged in the South and for the Cuban revolution. He was one of the first members of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in Los Angeles.

Coover supported protests against the U.S. war in Vietnam, and was a leader of the Spring Mobilization Committee that organized a massive antiwar demonstration on the West Coast in 1967. He was the SWP candidate for governor of California in 1962, and for mayor of Los Angeles in 1965.

In 1970 and 1971 Coover took extended leaves from his job at the request of the directors of Pathfinder Press to come to New York to help organize the remodeling of a six-story structure that became the Pathfinder Building.

In 1983 Coover terminated his membership in the SWP, but not his activity in support of the party.

Coover went on to make a new contribu-

tion to the party's work. Convinced that former members and other supporters who are unable to meet the demands of party membership could nonetheless make a vital contribution, he devoted considerable time to organizing work among supporters.

Often he recalled accompanying his father in Minneapolis in making the rounds of party supporters, obtaining renewal subscriptions to the *Militant* and financial contributions. Coover stressed that supporters welcome the opportunity to make a contribution on whatever level they can. Los Angeles became a model for the careful and effective organization of active supporters of the revolutionary party.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢
Nov. 17, 1978

The appointment of a military government in Iran November 6 has set the stage for a showdown between the tyrannical regime of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi and an aroused people.

"We support the shah in his decision," a U.S. State Department official declared.

Iran's economy remains paralyzed by a nationwide general strike, and there were demonstrations in Tehran. Much larger demonstrations occurred elsewhere in Iran, including in the major cities of Isfahan and Tabriz.

Protests on November 5 exceeded even those in early September, when 4 million people took to the streets to demand an end to the shah's dictatorship. The November 5 outpouring was sparked by the murder of 65 students at Tehran University the day before.

A strike by oil workers in particular, which has cut off petroleum exports valued at \$21 billion a year — 60 percent of the country's gross national product — has the shah's regime by the throat.

The oil workers are raising political demands, not simply economic ones. Among them are an end to martial law, release of all political prisoners, punishment of the perpetrators of massacres carried out by the regime, and the dissolution of "security offices" maintained by the secret police in workplaces.

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People
Nov. 18, 1963 Price 10¢

JACKSON, Miss. — More than 90,000 disenfranchised Negroes in 200 communities throughout the state cast "Freedom Ballots" in churches, schools, poolrooms, and "votemobiles" over a three-day period here.

For many, participation in the mock election was their first venture into politics. The Freedom Vote candidates, Aaron Henry of Clarksdale and the Rev. Edwin King of Jackson, received almost all of the votes cast with less than 50 split between Democratic and Republican candidates.

In 1890 Mississippi had 190,000 Negro registered voters. Two years later, it had 8,600. In 1954 there were 22,000 Negro voters — less than 5 percent of the registered electorate.

Henry, state NAACP head and president of the Council of Federated Organizations, indicated the mock vote gave Mississippi's nonvoting Negroes "a real choice between candidates." Both Republican and Democratic candidates ran on segregationist platforms. The Freedom Vote candidates — who also received write-in votes during the regular election November 5 — urged the state to provide "justice, equal education, jobs, and voting rights."

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Thatcher's new media censorship

Dodie McGuinness is a local councillor in the British-occupied north of Ireland. An interview with her about the closing of a local maternity home was scheduled to be shown on British television October 30.

The interview was banned. The reason? McGuinness is a member of the Irish republican organization Sinn Féin, which has been gagged under new broadcasting restrictions imposed by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party government. The restrictions, stipulate that television or radio programs interviewing or quoting Sinn Féin representatives will be prohibited. Statements by "persons who support, or invite support, for these organizations" are also targeted by the gag rule.

The new restrictions are part of a major attack on democratic rights in Britain and British-ruled Northern Ireland, which includes a government ban on television programs about the north of Ireland; attempts to stop Peter Wright's book *Spycatcher* from being published; and the proposed new Official Secrets Act, which would make it a violation of "confidentiality to the crown" for state security officers to publish anything concerning their work.

The day after imposing the gagging of Sinn Féin, Home Secretary Douglas Hurd announced new proposals

to restrict the centuries-old right to silence for an accused person. A few days later, three Irish people were framed up for an alleged conspiracy to murder the Northern Ireland secretary, Tom King, and sentenced to life in prison.

By focusing these blows on those opposed to British control of Northern Ireland, Britain's rulers hope to minimize broader opposition to the antidemocratic measures and at the same time gain a new tool to use against the Irish freedom struggle.

Working people and other supporters of democratic rights throughout Britain have a big stake in opposing these restrictions. If unanswered, they will be applied ever more widely, opening the door to new and broader curtailments.

As Pathfinder representative Peter Clifford's 24-hour detention in Northern Ireland under the "Prevention of Terrorism Act" shows, the authorities will try to cast their net as wide as possible. Opponents of British rule in Ireland, unionists, farmers, Central America solidarity activists, anti-apartheid fighters, and others should make their own a campaign to defeat the British government's mounting assault of democratic rights.

Cop brutalization

Exposure of racist and sexist harassment within the New York City police department has spotlighted what seems to be growing brutalization among cops as social pressures in this capitalist society deepen. And in explosive situations, the internal discipline of the cops seems to suddenly break down as was shown last August when several hundred went on an all-night rampage in a city park, beating many homeless workers and youth.

Moreover, the integration of more Blacks and women into police forces has not brought greater sensitivity. Rather it has introduced the social contradictions and pressures of capitalist society into the ranks of the cops.

Nearly a quarter of the police force at the 113th Precinct in Queens was recently transferred, for example, after police who were Black protested a pattern of racist abuse from fellow cops who were white.

Some cops who are Black and female also charged sex harassment, insisting that their radio calls for help were repeatedly ignored by other cops, placing them in jeopardy, they said.

The head of the Guardians Association, an organization of cops who are Black, charged that racist harassment within the police department occurs throughout the city.

A few days later, the FBI announced it was investigating another charge of racist, antiwoman practices at the 113th Precinct. Valerie Wilson, who is Puerto Rican, said she was assaulted when she tried to stop two cops who were beating a friend of hers in the course of an arrest. The two cops were white. Her friend was Black. The cops turned on Wilson, punching her in the face and

kicking her in the breasts. As she fell to the ground they continued the beating, saying, "You're resisting arrest, bitch."

After she was handcuffed and put in a patrol car, one of the cops fondled her breasts. Then he declared she had probably had sex relations "with every nigger in town."

The behavior of cops in the 113th Precinct is not unique to that station house or to New York City. It is widespread across the country. Last March, a young packinghouse worker in Des Moines, Iowa, found himself under arrest on phony rape charges. Cops interrogating him beat him up, too. They called him a "Mexican-lover, just like you love those coloreds" as they shattered his cheekbone.

In September, the worker, Mark Curtis was convicted on trumped-up rape and burglary charges.

But an international defense campaign in Curtis' behalf has helped focus more attention on abuses of the Des Moines police department.

Information has also come to light that Des Moines cops have been dressing up in Ku Klux Klan robes to frighten fellow cops who are Black, making racial slurs, and sexually harassing cops who are female.

The role of cops in capitalist society, as protectors of capitalist property and order, dictates that as the social and economic crisis deepens, working people are going to face increasing savagery and violence from police forces. This means protecting each other against assaults — by exposing them and mobilizing broad opposition — will become increasingly necessary for working people.

'Kristallnacht'

Nov. 9, 1988, marked the 50th anniversary of the night when Nazi storm troopers and other gangs directed by the government of Adolf Hitler were unleashed against the Jews of Germany. It became known as "Kristallnacht" because of the shattered glass that covered the streets after the massive pogrom.

Homes and stores of Jews were wrecked, an estimated 1,000 synagogues were vandalized or demolished, and up to 1,000 Jews were lynched or committed suicide. In the immediate aftermath of Kristallnacht, more than 20,000 Jews were held in concentration camps and a fine of \$400 million was imposed on the Jewish people of Germany — effectively confiscating their property.

Kristallnacht was a major escalation in the anti-Semitic terror that led, during World War II, to the murder of millions of Jews by the Nazi regime. Earlier steps had included the 1933 laws barring Jews from many professions and the government-declared boycott of businesses owned by Jews, as well as the 1935 law stripping Jews in Germany of their citizenship.

The crimes against the Jewish people were made possible, in the first place, by the crushing of the German labor movement by the victorious Nazis.

The events of Nov. 9, 1938, in Germany horrified and outraged working people all over the world. Many in the labor movement and elsewhere demanded that the "democratic" governments of the United States, Britain, and France — which claimed to be foes of anti-Semitic persecution — take immediate action to admit Jewish refugees.

They refused, with the administration of U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt playing a particularly criminal role. Not only did the U.S. government refuse to modify or lift quota restrictions on immigration from Europe, but

it prevented the existing quotas from being fulfilled.

Thousands of Jews who could have been saved in Germany, and in countries occupied or menaced by the Hitler regime, died at the hands of the Nazis as a consequence.

The Socialist Workers Party and the *Militant's* predecessor, the *Socialist Appeal*, played an active part in publicizing the facts about Kristallnacht and other anti-Semitic attacks by the Nazis.

"Let the refugees into U.S.!" read the banner headline on the front page of the Nov. 19, 1938, issue of the *Socialist Appeal*. "Let us in or we perish!" read the front-page headline on a subsequent issue.

The SWP National Committee issued a statement, published in the Nov. 19, 1938, issue, urging mobilization by U.S. unions to demand that Roosevelt "throw open the doors of the United States to the victims of the Hitlerite pogrom regime."

"The workers of the United States must take the initiative in a mighty and effective protest against the Hitlerite pogroms," the statement declared.

"To let the fascist massacres go unanswered is only to prepare for our own defeat and enslavement at the hands of fascist reaction in this country."

The declaration concluded: "Show the Hitlerite assassins and pogromists the real position of American labor by your protest meetings!"

"Show them that the American working class means it seriously when it says that it detests anti-Semitism and the anti-Semites like the plague!"

"Show the victims of the fascist terror that you mean it seriously, by stretching out to them the hand of fraternal solidarity, by demanding of the American government the free and unrestricted right of asylum for the Jewish scapegoats of Nazi barbarism!"

'Perestroika': use of capitalist market methods

BY DOUG JENNESS

The two Russian words *perestroika* and *glasnost*, which have become commonplace terms for describing the policies promoted by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, have tended to assume an almost mystical character. The words themselves seem to take on meaning or importance that transcends social reality.

The way they are bandied about in the big-business press and many liberal and radical papers tends to confuse, rather than clarify, what's happening in the Soviet

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

Union. Generally, the impression is given that what Gorbachev is doing is positive or at least has its good sides.

Gorbachev himself says, "Perestroika is a word with many meanings. But if we are to choose from the many possible synonyms, the key word that expresses its essence most accurately, then we can say thus: Perestroika is a revolution."

Let's take a close look at what this "revolution" is, what social forces will carry it out, and who it is aimed at benefiting.

The economic stagnation in the USSR is now widely admitted by broad layers of the bureaucracy. Inefficiency, low levels of economic growth and labor productivity, and declining living standards are openly talked about.

Gorbachev's proposal to ameliorate this situation is not very complicated nor "revolutionary": use capitalist market methods to organize and motivate a recalcitrant labor force. He proposes giving government planners less say over organizing relations between the different enterprises and sectors of the economy and allowing plant managers more leeway to make decisions along the lines of profitability.

If managers of a steel plant, for example, are permitted greater freedom to organize production to get more units of steel per hour of labor than other steel plants, the plant will be permitted to continue operating and the workers will likely get bonuses. Closing down inefficient plants and unemployment will be the result. Social inequalities among workers will become wider.

The aim is to use the spur of the market and the threat of unemployment to prod workers to work harder.

Relaxation of restrictions on opening certain kinds of small businesses and on leasing land to private farmers is all part of the same scheme.

Moreover, the cost of introducing more high technology into Soviet industry is going to come at the expense of workers' social benefits. Gorbachev proposes reducing the part of the social product that currently goes to subsidizing food prices and paying for medical care, public transportation, and other social services.

But capitalist mechanisms are not going to bring greater economic stability any more than they will in the capitalist countries in the coming years. Nor will these methods result in labor productivity levels that can surpass the most economically developed capitalist countries.

What they are guaranteed to do is generate unemployment, inequalities among workers, deepening social antagonisms, dog-eat-dog modes of behavior, and many other evils of capitalism.

A letter from a reader on the facing page asks if this introduction of more capitalist mechanisms "threatens a restoration of capitalism." While Gorbachev's schemes are surely a roadblock to working people in the Soviet Union recognizing their own self-worth and developing confidence that they can administer the economy and government and lead a transition to socialism, they do not mean that capitalist restoration is on the agenda.

The state property relations and monopoly of foreign trade are a barrier against a capitalist ruling class being reestablished. Unless these are overturned, and that would take a violent counterrevolution, capitalist restoration is not possible.

No matter how much the bureaucrats ape the capitalists, they are not an incipient capitalist class. They are a parasitic layer that derives its privileges and power from trying to structure the state property forms and economic plan for their benefit.

The most revealing thing about the recent parleys between Soviet leaders and top officials from European capitalist governments over increasing trade, loans, and investments is how little the USSR got and can get. The negotiators walked up to the great divide separating the two property systems — and the capitalist investors balked at Soviet restrictions that bar them from organizing and exploiting labor in the way that's necessary to make massive investments profitable.

This, by the way, answers reader Beslin's question about whether "a new Soviet 'market' can bail capitalism out of a world-wide depression." This market and arena of investment is far too small, and will remain so, unless there's a counterrevolution.

Blacklisting of workers in British industry

Blacklist: The Inside Story of Political Vetting, by Mark Hollingsworth and Richard Norton-Taylor. Hogarth Press, £7.95.

BY PETE EVANS

When *Militant* supporter Paul Davidson was fired during his first week's employment at Ford's plant at Dagenham in London, for an allegedly "unsatisfactory work record," many in the labor movement saw this as yet another example of political investigation, screening, and victimization. Often they were able to relate this sacking to their own experience.

Just how widespread the practice of vetting has become is chronicled in the new book *Blacklist: The Inside*

the communists have utterly failed."

By 1982 some 68,000 people were being investigated. The book recounts many cases — from filmmaker Roland Joffe, blacklisted by the British Broadcasting Co. in 1977, to a young printworker in a computer firm with war industry contracts, fired because his stepfather had been involved in trade union activities.

The investigations led to the expansion of the role of Britain's political police — MI5 and the Special Branch.

Today MI5 has files on some 1 million individuals, with information used in vetting procedures. This body, greatly expanded during the last decade, has targeted the National Council for Civil Liberties and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament as subversive.

The information in the files is culled from many sources, including informers sent into the labor movement. But a large part comes from the work of the Special Branch.

Founded in 1883 to spy on Irish republicans, by 1958 the Special Branch had grown to 200 officers nationally. All provincial police forces now had their own force. Following the upsurge in political protest in the 1960s and '70s, the Special Branch increased rapidly. Today the agency has some 2,000 officers, including 200 civilian staff, with a total budget of about £19.5 million (US\$34 million).

The main target of this branch of the political police is the labor movement in the heartlands of industry.

Particularly revealing is the information the authors dug up in the auto industry. At the Cowley factory, owned by British Leyland (BL), where 20,000 workers had become union members by 1966, the company carried out a major screening operation with state support.

In 1965 it set up an Industrial Relations Department.

One of the first managers was Tom Richardson, who was later to reveal that the factory was targeted by MI5 and Special Branch officers who "were buzzing around all the time I was there." The cops' role was to blacklist workers who were politically active. Richardson described receiving late-night phone calls telling him that a given worker was "a dangerous subversive."

BL also used the services of the Economic League. Formed in 1919, it is the largest "private" blacklisting organization. In 1986 the league's 2,000 subscriber companies checked more than 200,000 potential employees through its vetting system.

One of the organization's paid informers, Ned Walsh, was exposed in 1988. He had spent 27 years infiltrating political campaigns and trade unions. One of his targets was the Anti-Apartheid Movement. For many years he was a member of the AAM's Trade Union Committee.

The extent of vetting at British Leyland was revealed in 1983 when 13 workers were fired on the pretext of false references. All were members of the International Marxist Group. The company maintained that the "Cowley 13" had been discovered during a routine audit. In fact, the authors reveal, they were fingered by MI5, which has had agents in the Cowley plant since the late 1960s.

As the book makes clear, BL is by no means alone in the auto industry when it comes to blacklisting. Similar sackings have taken place at Ford plants, and in the telecommunications, engineering, and construction industries as well.

The information offered by Hollingsworth and Norton-Taylor is invaluable for all defenders of democratic rights. And the authors have done a service to the labor movement in making the details of blacklisting widely available.

BOOK REVIEW

Story of Political Vetting, by journalists Mark Hollingsworth and Richard Norton-Taylor.

The authors begin by describing the political victimizations that have developed in areas most closely connected with the state — the civil service, nuclear industry, and military suppliers. They detail how state vetting was expanded following World War II with the formation of a committee made up of heads of the civil service and of Britain's internal secret service — MI5.

In the 1950s Labour Party Prime Minister Clement Attlee praised the committee as an alternative to the McCarthyite witch-hunt in the United States. "We are pardonably annoyed," he said, "at being instructed by a beginner like Senator McCarthy. The British Labour Party has had nearly 40 years of fighting communism in Britain, and, in spite of war and economic depression,

LETTERS

Angola

I heard the Angolan ambassador to the United Nations, Manuel Pedro Pacavira, speak during a whirlwind tour through the Detroit area at the end of October.

Pacavira, a founder of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola and former ambassador to Nicaragua and Cuba, talked about the need to organize solidarity with Angola.

"We have been fighting a war since our independence from Portugal," he said, "a war imposed on us by South Africa and Jonas Savimbi's UNITA," the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

Responding to a question whether talks with UNITA are possible, Pacavira explained: "As far as a reconciliation, it would be an issue if there was a separation in the country. There is no internal problem. But because of the destruction from the war, thousands maimed and killed, how could the Angolan people accept the presence of Savimbi?"

When asked about the Angolan and Cuban victory at the battle of Cuito Cuanavale, Pacavira said, "South Africa has been forced to leave our territory. We are discussing the timetable of the withdrawal of Cuban troops. But we will not jeopardize our security. We have proposed 30 months, but we are not even obligated to do that. Nobody can demand it of us. We decided to make a gesture and reduce the number of months before the Cuban withdrawal. South Africa has made no gesture. They were forced out of Angola. That is the real victory."

Mark Friedman
Detroit, Michigan

Soviet Union

What's going on in the Soviet Union?

Do moves toward capitalist market mechanisms there threaten a restoration of capitalism? Might at least a new Soviet "market" bail capitalism out of the worldwide depression that is imminent — or rather postpone it — by relieving some of the pressure of the generalized crisis of overproduction?

Was a deal cut between Washington and Moscow to collaborate in containing the growing revolution in the semicolonial countries? What are the prospects for an anti-

Stalinist political revolution in the USSR?

Also: according to an article in the October 28 *New York Times*, 20 million people are facing starvation in the People's Republic of China, and another 80 million are facing food shortages! This is from information in *China Daily*, which was quoting an official in the Ministry of Civil Affairs. Does the *Militant* have any information and analysis of this? What's going on in the two largest and most populous workers' states?

Michael Beslin
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Mark Curtis

I was part of a *Militant* sales team recently that traveled throughout western Canada. We were able to speak to members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 280-P at the Gainers meat-packing plant in Edmonton, Alberta, about the case of Mark Curtis. This local waged a bitter fight against the company in 1986 to stop concessions being forced on the workers.

On our first day there, we went to the union office to introduce ourselves and explain that we were traveling the prairie provinces on behalf of the *Militant* and Mark Curtis. The local president took the material on the case and said he would bring it up before his executive in one month's time.

The reception from workers was very friendly. Most read the petition carefully, and many then signed and passed it to their work mate, urging him or her to do the same.

We explained that defending Curtis is part of strengthening our unions for the deepening attacks that are coming. These workers really understand this point

One worker talked about a book he had read recently on the stock market crash. He's convinced that another crash and deep recession is around the corner. He bought a copy of the Pathfinder pamphlet, *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*.

One young worker told us that he was not surprised at the treatment Mark received from the Des Moines police. "My stepfather was on strike here in 1986, and I remember what those damn cops did to bring in the scabs, beating on people's heads."

On one day we sold seven *Militants* and one *Perspectiva Mundial* at the plant gate. Altogether, we gathered 71 signatures for Mark.
Roger Annis
Toronto, Canada

MOVE

It has recently come to my attention via Lonise James, mother of one of the 11 MOVE members killed in the Philadelphia bombing in May 1985, that the grand jury impaneled to investigate the deaths and destruction found that no one was to blame.

These findings confirm that the nightmare continues for Blacks in Philadelphia and across America.

The families of the MOVE members would like to show the Pennsylvania attorney general that Blacks, and conscious people across the nation, do not accept that nobody is responsible for the atrocities committed on Osage Avenue.

They ask that you and I write Attorney General LeRoy Zimmerman, Strawberry Sq., 16th Floor, Harrisburg, Penn. 17120.

Please place your letter in a sealed envelope with postage and address it to the attorney general. Put this envelope in a second one and mail to Lonise James or La Verne Sims, P.O. Box 13124, Philadelphia, Penn. 19104. They will collect the letters and hold until they have stacks of mail, and then send them to the attorney general.
W.W.
New York, New York

Pledge of Allegiance

Taken voluntarily, the Pledge of Allegiance is a noble expression of our faith in God and country. But when people are forced to take any sacred oath, the words can ring hollow. Like the confessions of a hostage with a gun to his head.

In 1977 the Massachusetts legislature passed a law requiring students and teachers to recite the pledge. Today, Governor Dukakis' opponents question his judgment and patriotism because he refused to sign a bill.

Recently George Bush asked a partisan crowd: "What is it about the Pledge of Allegiance that upsets Michael Dukakis?"

Our Constitution gives us a few precious liberties. Liberties that most nations have not enjoyed.

Like the freedom to speak and



Tom Wilson

worship as we choose.

What is it about the Constitution that upsets George Bush?

Jeff Bullock
Phoenixville, Pennsylvania

U.S. aid to Nicaragua

The U.S. government has not only sought to minimize the toll of Hurricane Joan in Nicaragua, but has also refused to send aid and unleashed new contra disruption activities during this critical time.

In the book *Triumph of the People*, George Black recounts the stance Washington took toward the Somoza dictatorship when Nicaragua was hit by a powerful earthquake in December 1972. The quake destroyed some 75 percent of Managua's housing and left 20,000 Nicaraguans dead.

Washington moved quickly to help the dictatorship. As Somoza's National Guard (the core of today's contras) went on a looting spree through Managua, 600 troops, mainly from the United States but with some Honduran and Salvadoran forces, were rushed in to restore order.

The Nixon administration quickly provided \$78 million from the Agency for International Development and another \$54 million from the Inter-American Bank to Somoza, who lined his pockets and

those of the officer corps with most of this money. A thriving black market sprang up, also under National Guard auspices, filled with stolen property and medicines and food donated from abroad.

Just to recount these facts is to illuminate the difference between the old and the new Nicaragua. Can anyone even imagine such a betrayal of human solidarity under the Sandinista government? We need to raise our voices to demand that the U.S. government now at least match what was given to Somoza in 1973!

Pete Seidman
Miami, Florida

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: *Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Protests hit Grenada book seizure

BY NORTON SANDLER

ST. JOHNS, Antigua — The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada (MBPM) is urging the people of that country to protest the government's seizure of books.

In a statement released November 8, MBPM spokesperson Einstein Louison said the government's "action is a violation of the right to freedom of speech in this country when they have already violated freedom of travel and the right to work." Louison compared the government's act to the book-banning policies of the notorious Pinochet dictatorship in Chile and the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Four days earlier, Grenada's Prime Minister Herbert Blaize told a national television audience that customs officials seized four cartons of Pathfinder books and several dozen copies of the *Militant* at the Point Salines Airport on October 18 because "they're subversive to the peace and security of the country."

Blaize claimed the books were confiscated in accordance with Grenadian law, but he did not specify which law.

Protests against the Grenadian government's book seizure have been a focal point of a several-island tour in conjunction with promoting the new Pathfinder book *One People, One Destiny: The Caribbean and Central America Today*, edited by Don Rojas. The book contains documents and speeches from leaders of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America.

The boxes grabbed by customs officials contained 92 titles. The seized books include 50 copies of *One People, One Destiny*, a book of speeches by Grenada's slain Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, and a new Pathfinder title, *Thomas Sankara Speaks: The Burkina Faso Revolution 1983-87*. Others were books by Nelson Mandela, Karl Marx, Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, and Malcolm X.

The books were taken as this reporter entered Grenada to attend a rally to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the assassination of Maurice Bishop and several of his colleagues. The rally was held October 19.

In a telephone interview November 8, Einstein Louison, who is now the owner of the books, explained that he has made several attempts to win their release. "Basically it's been a runaround," he said. "If the government fails to give a proper response on the books," Louison said, "then legal measures will be taken."

Louison explained that the seizure of the books is consistent with other government attacks on democratic rights. For example, Don Rojas, who was Bishop's press secretary prior to the overturn of the revolution, has been barred from entering the country, as have other Caribbean political activists.

MBPM leader Terry Marryshow has been denied a license to practice medicine in Grenada on political grounds. And in 1985 Louison's passport was seized by the government, denying him the right to travel outside the island.

The confiscation of the books has drawn protests around the world. Messages have been sent to Blaize from David Dyson, union label director of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and from Kathy Andrade, educational director of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 23-25 in New York. Other messages have been sent by Labour Party Member of Parliament Tony Benn from Britain and from several members of the Australian Parliament.

These protest statements to Blaize have been carried extensively in the media throughout the Caribbean. An Associated Press dispatch carried in both of Barbados' Sunday papers of November 6 quoted Benn as saying, "Members of the British Parliament want to know who drew up this list [of banned books], what statutory authority exists for it, and why the Grenadian government is breaking the United Nations



Don Rojas (center) — editor of new Pathfinder book on Caribbean, Central American struggles titled *One People, One Destiny* — helped staff Pathfinder table at recent bookfair in Trinidad. His Caribbean tour to promote new book has also blasted Grenada government's book seizure.

Charter on human rights." It also cited the protest by the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists, chaired by Walter Cronkite.

The protests have also been covered by the London *Guardian*, and *Carib News* and *Big Red News* of New York City.

The tour to promote *One People, One Destiny* has also focused on the book banning. The book was first launched at the University of the West Indies campus in St. Augustine, Trinidad, on October 26. Meetings on the book have also been held in Kingstown, St. Vincent; Bridgetown, Bar-

bados; and here in Antigua. At each stop, Rojas and this reporter have urged participants in the meetings to protest the book seizure.

Press conferences in St. Vincent and Barbados were covered by newspapers, radio stations, and by AP. Rojas was interviewed on the Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation television in Barbados November 5. He talked about the new book and urged protests against the Grenadian government's book banning.

Some 70 people attended a meeting about the book here in St. Johns on

November 7, sponsored by the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement, a member of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations. Part of the Cuban video "Response to the South African Escalation" was shown at the event.

Hundreds of Pathfinder books and pamphlets have been sold to political activists, unionists, and political and commercial bookstores and distributors throughout the region.

Protests demanding release of the books should be sent to Prime Minister Herbert Blaize, St. George's, Grenada.

Pathfinder representative arrested, held 24 hours in Northern Ireland

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — On November 8 security forces in the British-occupied north of Ireland arrested Pathfinder sales representative Peter Clifford and detained him in custody without charge for 24 hours. Clifford, who was on a routine sales trip, was held under Section 12 of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

The use of the act to interfere with the sales of books comes hard on the heels of the British government's decision to prohibit television and radio broadcasts by the Irish republican organization Sinn Féin and its supporters.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act gives the police the power to stop, search, and detain someone, without charge, for a period of seven days.

Imposed by the then-Labour government in 1974, the act has been extensively used for purposes of intimidation and harassment. Thousands of people have been detained under its catch-all provisions throughout Northern Ireland and Britain. From 1975 to 1986, a total of 6,968 people were detained in the six counties that make up Northern Ireland alone. Of the 6,246 people detained in Britain under the act from 1974 to 1986, only 528 were actually charged. The police have become skilled at using the seven-day detention period to force young people to "confess" to charges of which they are perfectly innocent.

Throughout the 24 hours he was held, Clifford was likewise subjected to intimidation and political harassment. He was interrogated for several hours about Pathfinder and its contacts in Ireland. Allegations of "suspected terrorism" were raised to try to pry into Clifford's legal affairs and political activities.

During the questioning, the police tried to make use of recent statements by British Home Secretary Douglas Hurd that the Tory government intends to restrict prisoners'

right to silence. They repeatedly suggested that this right had been eliminated.

The entire interrogation process was designed to maximize intimidation. The police denied Clifford the right to make a phone call to a relative, friend, or lawyer. Friends, business colleagues, and political associates who telephoned the detention center were refused any contact with him. The police refused to pass on messages, despite pledges to do so.

These promises were made under the pressure of a speedy international campaign to force Clifford's release. It wasn't until 11:00 p.m. November 8 — 10 hours after he was picked up — that Pathfinder in London found out about the detention. Within a couple of hours, the Gough Barracks interrogation center had received calls from a London lawyer, a representative of a member of the British Parliament, and Pathfinder offices in New York; Toronto, Canada; and Sydney, Australia. Clifford's local member of Parliament from Newham, Labour MP Tony Banks, was on the case early the following morning, protesting to the Northern Ireland office of the British government. The London-based National Council for Civil Liberties also protested.

Clifford was in Ireland on a 10-day sales trip on behalf of Pathfinder in London. The trip had taken him to Dublin and Cork in the south, and Derry and Belfast in the north. Pathfinder has been distributing books to Ireland from London since 1972. Trips by sales representatives to promote Pathfinder literature have been a regular activity of the London office for the last decade.

Through such activity, Pathfinder titles are beginning to be more widely read among politically minded people, north and south. Pathfinder books have been favorably reviewed in Sinn Féin's weekly paper, *An Phoblacht/Republican News*.

Prisoners in the six counties have also begun to read Pathfinder literature, and the London office has adopted the policy of sending damaged stock to republican prisoners who request it, free of charge.

One such prisoner is Brendan Donaghy, one of 200 republican prisoners serving life sentences. It was following a visit to see Donaghy at the Maze prison in Lisburn — known as Long Kesh, where the H-block hunger strike took place — that Clifford was seized, along with Michael Bannion, by British Army personnel. Bannion had driven there with Clifford. Successively questioned by army and police for six hours, the two were arrested at 6:45 p.m. and driven under armed guard to the interrogation center at Gough Barracks in Armagh.



Peter Clifford

Militant/Janet Post